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Ideas on Liberty

AUGUST 1972

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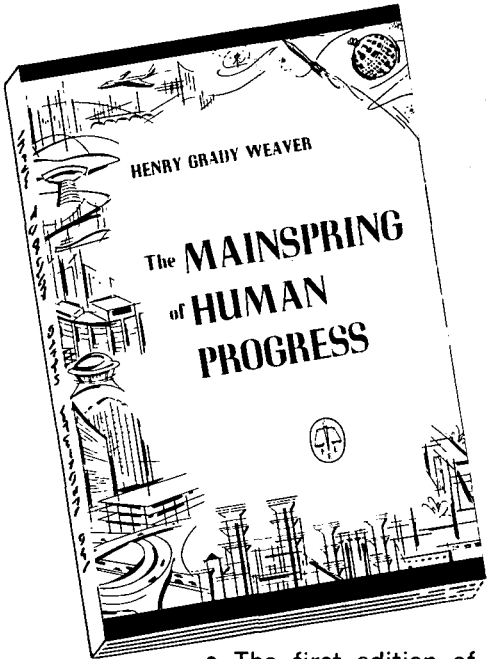

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HANS F. SENNHOLZ

ARE WE MARXIANS NOW?

IDEAS are the forces that lift or destroy civilization. They bring peace and prosperity, or breed wars and revolutions. Ideas shape our laws and institutions, and govern individual action and social relations. No wall or boundary can forcibly retain an idea. It sweeps around the earth like a storm that spares nobody. Ideas are stronger than bombs and missiles, they are mightier than an armada with megatons of explosives.

The philosophical, social and economic ideas of Karl Marx have been more influential than those of all other socialists. They have had, and continue to have, a profound impact not only on the lives of billions of people living in communist and socialist societies who worship him as their apostle and master, but also on the thoughts and policies of all others. Surely, no one would label the American society as "Marxian," or describe our social and economic policies as "Marx inspired." There are very few Americans who would courageously confess allegiance to the doctrines of Marx. And yet, serious contemplation cannot escape the conclusion that contemporary American thought on some three major issues – the conflict of interests in society, the concentration of business, and our outlook on the world – bears a startling resemblance to the doctrines of Karl Marx.

At this place we need not investigate why and how this similarity came about, nor ascertain the channels of education and communication that facilitated the sway of Marxian ideas. In fact,

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in order to demonstrate the resemblance of contemporary thought to Marxian doctrines we need not even prove that Karl Marx was the original author of prevailing American thought. After all, there were many other originators of socialism whose intellectual interdependence is difficult to record.

Economic Conflict

Most Americans seem to agree with the Marxian doctrine of political, social and economic *conflict.* Their traditional belief in a harmony of interest has gradually given way to trust in conflict and force. Americans now agree with Marx that social groups pursue conflicting interests that are reflected in antagonistic political and economic programs. Where in the past they had relied on individual initiative and action, they now depend on collective measures through legislation or regulation, or collective programs for political and economic pressure groups or business and labor organizations. He who stands alone today without the shelter and security afforded by his interest lobby or union is a rare exception.

In every session of Congress hundreds of new laws are passed that aim to confer rights and privileges on some groups while restricting those of others, or grant property and income to some at the expense of others. The political process has become a wrestling match between ever-changing alliances of pressure groups fighting over economic privileges and benefits. Just listen to the daily newscasts. Most of the reports, whether national or local, deal with the most noisy manifestations of this collective conflict.

Karl Marx was a forceful spokesman of the conflict and exploitation doctrine. Even in the United States, this bulwark of the free world, the doctrine has swayed public opinion. It makes its appearance in the popular notion that the unhampered capitalistic economy delivers the wage earners to the discretion and power of wealthy industrialists. The individual worker is said to be helpless and in need of legal protection in his bargaining with management whose primary concerns are power and profit. The unbridled market system with its profit motive and unhampered competition as it prevailed in this country before World War I is condemned for having inflicted hardship and deprivation on many generations of workers. Such notions, which are popular versions of the exploitation theory, have invaded our colleges and universities, indeed all channels of education and communication. They

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have radically changed our political parties and our churches. They have given rise to a gigantic labor union movement and to the "New Deal" in social and economic matters. In fact, the exploitation theory determines our basic "economic" policies at all levels of government.

Labor Policy

The ever-growing mass of labor legislation is one of the fruits of the exploitation theory. Its advocates credit modern social policy for having reduced the work week to 48, 44, and 40 hours, or even less. They applaud labor legislation for having eliminated women's and children's labor. And they ascribe the present rate of wages to the minimum wage rates set by authoritative intervention. Indeed, practically all labor improvements are credited to social legislation and labor union intervention.

Compulsory social insurance, including unemployment assistance, Medicare and Medicaid, stem from the same intellectual roots. Capitalism is said to be incapable of giving sustenance to the unemployed, sick, or aged laborers. Therefore, social policy must assure decent living conditions to an ever-larger part of the population.

Also, modern taxation reflects our adoption of the exploitation theory. Most taxes aim not only at raising revenue but also at correcting or alleviating the alleged evils of our economic system. Some taxes aim at a "redistribution" of wealth and income. Confiscatory rates are imposed on entrepreneurs and capitalists whose income and capital are thus transformed into goods for consumption by the "underprivileged." Other taxes aim at changing business customs and conduct or at regulating production and trade. All presidential candidates promise more of the same.

Our labor unions derive their very justification for existence from the exploitation doctrine. Few Americans would disclaim the boast of union leaders that their unions have raised, and still are raising, wages for all workers through association and collective bargaining. American public opinion believes that recent history has proved the beneficial nature of trade unionism without which workers would be subjugated to the greed and arbitrariness of their employers. Because of the common fear of labor exploitation, the people suffer strikes or threats of strikes, union coercion and violence, and endless agitation of hate and envy by labor leaders against the wicked selfishness of exploiters. To many millions of Americans, membership in a labor union is an

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important social duty and strike a holy task.

Clash of the Generations

In recent years the conflict doctrine has been broadened to cover yet another area: the relations between different generations. It thereby succeeded in pitting millions of American youth against their elders in a so-called "generation gap." Numerous student organizations of the "New Left" are attacking the "establishment" that represents the older generation with arguments that are taken without much change from the armory of Marx. The era of campus violence was ushered in by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a quasi-Marxian class organization. It was followed by such groups as the Progressive Labor Party, the Weathermen, the Young Workers Liberation League, the Young Socialist Alliance, the National Peace Action Coalition, the New American Movement, and many others. Although the members of such militant groups comprise only small minorities of students, it appears that many millions of young people agree with the radicals on the existence of conflict. If there is collective conflict in our social and economic spheres, why should there be peace and harmony between the establishment and its opposition, between the older generation and youth?

Racial Conflict

One of the ugliest manifestations of the conflict doctrine is found in our race relations. We are told again and again that it is our capitalistic system that imposes conditions of hardship upon a minority of its citizens, and that finally the angriest of them have been driven to assault the exploitation order. We are accused of wicked standards of white morality and capitalist middle-class behavior that condemns the rioting and looting but lacks human concern for millions of deprived Negroes in our midst.

A solution to the growing problems of racial strife is sought in ever-costlier government programs, in more public welfare and public care. While Newark was burning, and as twenty-seven Americans were losing their lives there, the Federal Government tried to rush through Congress a bill to provide $20 million a year for two years to exterminate the rats that infest the city slums. It was suggested that eradicating rats would ultimately help to prevent the racial riots, as it would indicate to the rioters that somebody really cares.

One may agree with the militant "Civil Rights" leaders that, for

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the first time in American history, political and social conditions are ripe for open rebellion and revolution. But our explanation differs fundamentally from theirs. The teachings of conflict and socialism, which for a long time were limited to white pressure groups, have finally reached millions of Negroes. In their incredible blindness our political leaders eagerly sow dissatisfaction and make reckless promises of redistribution while condemning the private property order – openly encouraging Negro protests against that order. It is collectivism, not capitalism, which breeds insurrection and revolution.

Sexual Conflict

In the United States the conflict doctrine finally was extended to cover sexual relations. There can be little doubt that women's liberation has become a major and militant movement.

In some of its aspects the movement is hardly new. More than 50 years ago it led to the 19th Constitutional Amendment that gave American women the right to vote. But in recent years, especially since the appearance of Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* and Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique,* it acquired the familiar symptoms of conflict and confrontation. Some of its radical spokesmen sound like the other conflict champions although they substitute sex for race, class, or generation. Their charges are almost identical: the capitalistic system breeds exploitation and slavery and therefore should be abolished. Economic freedom means freedom for men only, but exploitation and dependence for women. Therefore, it must give way to the political process, to legislation and regulation, in short, to a new order.

Concentrations and Monopolies

Although most Americans would disclaim any sympathy for Karl Marx and his teachings, they seem to be in full agreement with him not only on his doctrine of conflict of interest and class struggle but also on his theory of industrial concentration and monopoly.

In *Das Kapital* Karl Marx proclaimed the inevitable coming of socialism on grounds that capitalism causes a gradual pauperization of the working classes. The exploitation profits, which businessmen pocket by means of the employment contract, are invested in an ever-growing apparatus of production, today called automation, which in turn creates a growing army of unemployed and underemployed paupers.

In the decades that followed the publication of *Das Kapital,* it

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proved to be most difficult to inculcate this doctrine in the minds of American workers. Every year, wages rose and conditions improved on account of expanding capital investments and rising labor productivity. In fact, the standards of living of American working people rose to levels that are unprecedented in human history. And with the rise in labor productivity and wage rates, the conditions of health, life expectancy, education, recreation, and leisure improved immeasurably.

A more plausible theory on which the doctrine of inevitability of socialism could be based had to be found. Today, communist propaganda, whether in the form of arrogant prognostications that our grandchildren will live under communism or as blaring newscasts by *Radio Moscow,* proclaims the coming of socialism on grounds that capitalism is degenerating to dire monopolism. Whatever capitalism may have achieved in the past, its dreadful degeneration gives rise to vast concentrations of wealth matched by dismal poverty, automation and unemployment, and other discrepancies and imbalances. Prosperity under capitalism, we are told, is only short-lived and must soon give way to monopolistic exploitation, depression, and unemployment.

Many Americans are increasingly receptive to this doctrine. Certainly the Founding Fathers were aware of the inherent dangers of monopoly. Thomas Jefferson had even advocated a Constitutional amendment outlawing monopolies. But the Founding Fathers were also fully aware that governments were spawning the monopolies. Some three hundred years of European mercantilistic monopolistic policy had taught them that the government issue of licenses, franchises, regulations, and controls gives rise to monopolistic restrictions and economic maladjustments.

The Forces of Competition

Under the influence of European socialistic thought and Marxian indoctrination, this causal connection between government and monopoly has been gradually forgotten. Instead, many Americans are now led to believe that the capitalistic market economy breeds monopolies, and that "big business" tends to degenerate to monopoly. In reality, the unhampered market economy, through the operation of free competition, prevents any one businessman from charging monopolistic prices. Even if one should be the only producer in the field, potential competition, the competition of substitutes, and the elasticity of demand, prevent

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him from exploiting the situation.

Potential competition exists in all fields of production and commerce which everyone is legally free to enter. Most corporations are searching continuously for new lines and items of production. They are eager to invade any field in which business earnings are unusually high. The invasion of another field by a corporation may involve no more than a single retooling or reorganization that is achieved in a few weeks or months. Or, brand new facilities may be employed for an invasion. Thus, one producer, whether he is a monopolist, duopolist, or a competitor among many, always faces the potential competition of all other producers.

But even if American enterprises failed to compete with each other and potential competition failed to exert a restraining influence on monopolists – which is a most unrealistic assumption – the people would escape monopolistic prices through recourse to substitutes. In many fields the competition of substitutes is more important than that of competing enterprises. In the manufacture of clothing, for instance, a dozen different materials vie with each other for the consumer's dollar. The monopolist of any one material is powerless because monopolistic pricing would induce consumers to switch immediately to other materials. The manufacturers of suspenders compete not only with each other and with potential competitors, but also with the producers of belts. In the transportation industry the railroads compete with trucks, cars, airplanes, pipelines, and ships.

Elasticity of Demand

The existence of substitutes makes for demand elasticity which, in turn, makes monopolistic pricing unprofitable; for higher product prices would greatly curtail product demand, and thus sales and income of the monopolist. Therefore, he again must act as if he were a competitor among many.

All producers, in fact, compete with all other producers for the consumer's dollars. The manufacturer of television sets competes with the manufacturer of freezers and refrigerators. If the monopolist of one commodity – say, television sets – should raise his price, the consumer may forego the purchase of a new set and buy instead a second-hand set or a refrigerator. We consumers do not allocate our income to the satisfaction of categories of wants but to that of specific wants yielding the greatest net addition to our well-being. This addition, in turn,

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is determined by the urgency of our wants and by the cost of satisfaction.

This consideration of some fundamental principles of market economics runs counter to the interpretations offered by Marxian propaganda and, unfortunately, also by many fellow Americans. Our statist politicians and antitrust bureaucrats partially embrace the Marxian explanations. They subscribe to the theory that our capitalist system breeds monopolies. But then they part with *Radio Moscow* by proclaiming their desire to save this monopoly-breeding system from its own destruction. They propose to control the monopolies through government action. Almost every day now, the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice charges some businessmen with monopolistic conspiracy. These charges, being made in the limelight of worldwide publicity, poison the political atmosphere and create a badly distorted picture of our enterprise economy. In fact, the Antitrust Division is one of the most efficient arms of socialist propaganda.

Anticolonialism

Many Americans also agree with the Marx-Lenin doctrines of colonialism and imperialism. In the name of national sovereignty and anticolonialism the United States Government has promoted nationalism and socialism in all corners of the world. It has exerted its great influence toward the reduction of European influence and possessions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We urged the Dutch to leave Indonesia, we applauded the French retreat from Indochina, we blatantly demanded British and French withdrawal from the Suez Canal, we urged the Belgians to leave the Congo, and the French to surrender North Africa, we censured Portugal for her African possessions and imposed sanctions on Rhodesia.

The Western retreat from Suez to Panama, from Indonesia to Algeria, from the Congo to Morocco evidences an ominous weakness of Western civilization. Blinded by socialistic doctrines and prejudices, our statesmen hail retreat as progress and defeat as victory. Their world view is perverted by conceptions of "capitalist colonialism," which are derived from the teachings of Marx and Lenin. Echoing the communist leaders in their attacks on the West, they level the charge that European colonialism has kept the economically backward nations subjugated for centuries.

This misconception of history flows from a bad distortion of facts. The European colonies were acquired during the age of mer-

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cantilism and nationalism. The spirit of capitalism with its concern for individual freedom and private property, which shaped British foreign policies during the nineteenth century, completely transformed colonial possessions. The British overseas settlers became virtually independent – enjoying a dominion status. All other territories dependent on British rule were governed according to "open-door" principles. The British Empire was a vast free-trade area in which the government undertook only to maintain law and order.

Laissez Faire

Capitalism is the system of individual freedom and private property in production as well as consumption. In both domestic and foreign affairs it implies *laissez faire*, which means free trade and an open-door policy that welcomes everyone and discriminates against no one. The exploitation of colonial possessions is inconsistent with the concepts of competitive private enterprise and voluntary exchange. An American or European business that invests its capital in an underdeveloped country does not exploit the natives. Capital investments anywhere raise labor productivity and consequently wages. The United Fruit Company, for instance, did not enslave the people of Latin America by creating plantations in wilderness. On the contrary, it raised native productivity and improved working conditions.

And yet, most Americans are convinced that European colonialism is responsible for world poverty and upheaval. Why else would the U.S. Government have helped to liquidate European influence in all corners of the world and sanction and support revolutionary movements? Even today it strongly opposes the white administrations of Portuguese Africa, Rhodesia and South Africa. Many Americans even approve of the confiscation or nationalization of private enterprises by the governments of newly independent countries. They agree with the Marxians the world over that a sovereign state can legally seize and confiscate any foreign enterprise in disregard of valid contracts and agreements. This is why the new states in Africa and Asia can seize and destroy huge European investments with impunity. And Fidel Castro could seize more than one billion dollars of American investments.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries most Americans were conscious of the natural rights of individuals, and therefore believed in an idea of state sovereignty that was severely lim-

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ited by inalienable personal rights. State sovereignty was encompassed by the individual rights to life, liberty, and property. This concept of limited state sovereignty, which true friends of freedom continue to embrace, denies the right of any government to seize or nationalize any enterprise without the owner's consent.

Are we Marxians now? Most Americans will indignantly answer this question in the negative. After all, they neither condone dictatorship with its one-party system nor the ruthless suppression of dissent and brutal treatment of dissenters, which characterize all communist countries. They are "civilized" and therefore abhor all manifestations of inhumanity. But unfortunately, many Americans unwittingly share important philosophical, sociological, and economic beliefs with Marxians the world over. These beliefs give rise to policies that please the Marxians. Ultimately, they will breed the very political and economic tyranny which Americans so abhor.

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

A Useful Product

THE BUSINESS GENIUS who makes and markets a useful product and furnishes employment at good wages to hundreds of fathers, serves his community more usefully than a councilman who votes the appropriation of public funds to build playgrounds.

Without the steady production of wealth, the makers of public budgets would be helpless. For this reason the man richly endowed with business sense serves his fellow men best if he continues at his desk to the end of his days.

This line of thought does not win easy acceptance because it is only within recent generations that the social significance of business prosperity has been properly valued. It is now becoming more generally recognized that a nation cannot have too many competent businessmen. Prosperity is more a matter of men than natural resources. Poverty and ignorance have cursed and humbled mankind from the beginning. Intelligent direction of business will eliminate both.

From *The William Feather Magazine*, April, 1972

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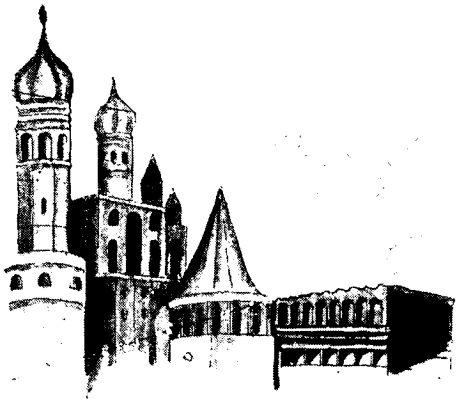
ERIK VON KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN



WINSTON CHURCHILL used to say that Russia is a riddle wrapped in an enigma within a mystery. But to him who has studied that country, its history, religion, language, mentality, the truth will come more easily; the many widespread dangerous cliches will dissolve before his mental eye.

One of the most common of these cliches is to the effect that the Russians are "by nature" collectivists, that their souls are aching for tyranny, all of which makes them so susceptible to Communism. Did not the large mass of the Russian people consist of serfs? The truth however is different. In old Russia, in contrast to America, slavery had never been institutionalized; the majority of the farming class had consisted of free people. As a matter of fact, serfdom as an institution had only existed in central and western Russia, but not in the far north, in the south, in the eastern part of the country, and certainly not in Siberia. (The Cossacks lived notoriously a very free life.)

It is true that in large areas, as a result of the abolition of serfdom in 1861, the peasants were given land collectively which resulted in a very poor agriculture with recurrent famines; but Stolypin, the "arch-reactionary" Minister of the Interior, disestablished the collective holdings, the *Mirs*, early in this century. The subsequent individual farming, together with a second agrarian reform, initiated the rapid development of Russian agriculture with the ambitious

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peasants, the *kulaks*, leading the nation to a new agrarian wealth. (The final goal of the gradual reform was to have only 11 per cent of the arable area covered with large estates by 1930.) By 1916 only 23 per cent of the usable land was in the hands of big landowners, whereas in Britain this share was 55 per cent! And we ought to add to this that Russia never had a *ruling* nobility. Old Russian titles mean a great deal more in Hollywood than they ever meant in Russia. Social arrogance, as we know it in the West, *was* unknown there; it came into being only in recent decades as a result of Marxist indoctrination with the accent on class consciousness. He who knows the USSR or reads contemporary Russian plays and novels is fully aware of this rather depressing fact.

Russians, indeed, are by nature great individualists; they always constituted a nation of eminent independent thinkers, poets, scientists, philosophers, artists, musicians, mathematicians and so forth. Edward Crankshaw explained in a brilliant article in *International Affairs* (October, 1945) how precisely due to her people's individualism a purely parliamentary democracy for Russia is out of the question — now and forever. This might sound paradoxical to American ears but Harold Laski had previously pointed out to us that representative democracy, in order to be workable, has to rest on two premises: a two-party system and, more importantly, a common framework of reference, a common language, the thing which Walter Lippmann called a "Public Philosophy." Such a common framework has never existed in eastern or southern Europe where, for a variety of reasons, intellectual individuality and not a sentimental community spirit always prevailed. All of which moved the classic British liberal Walter Bagehot to the conclusion that democracy needs a rather "stupid people" (*Letters on the French Coup-d'-Etat*, 1852). The Russians, in other words, are too bright for their own good. They will always have a government-from-above which can be spiritual or materialistic, liberal or tyrannic, benevolent or malignant. Self-government in Russia can only be local and limited.

Degrees of Government Intervention

In the various forms of society, government and economics are admittedly interdependent, but not in a crudely automatic way. There are provider states which are not socialistic, there existed liberal as well as communist monarchies (the Empire of the Incas) and totalitarian democracies. Spain,

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for instance, has a rather limited political freedom but a great deal of economic liberty. Brazil has a military dictatorship but its economy rests on free enterprise. Continental Europe before 1848 had a free market economy under royal absolutism. But the USSR boasts a democratic label and has practically no freedom, neither economic, nor intellectual, nor religious. It knows not even the freedom of residence.

Old Imperial ("Czarist") Russia, however, had a far-reaching economic freedom. Of course, we always ought to distinguish Russia before the liberation of the serfs from the Russia between 1861 and the issuing of the Constitution (1905), and the latter from the liberal monarchy between 1905 and the Revolution. The freedom of expression during this "terminal" period was nearly complete. In 1912 the *Pravda,* founded in broad daylight, violently attacked the government. There were, moreover, Bolshevik delegates in the *Duma* (Diet), but no Anarchists ("Social Revolutionaries"), a party which indeed represented total individualism, but also murder and arson. (It was banned by law, but Kerenski secretly adhered to it). As a matter of fact, the government favored the Social Democrats, with their menshevik and bolshevik wings, over the Anarchists, the latter claiming not Marx, but Bakunin (a nobleman) and Prince Kropotkin, who died in 1921, as their founding fathers and spokesmen. (Incidentally, the great bolshevik leaders beginning with Lenin were frequently members of the nobility.)

Progress through Freedom

It was thanks to economic freedom that Russian industry, though late getting started, enjoyed a fabulous development in the quarter century before the Red Revolution. The annual *increase* of Russia's industrial output and capacity in those years was far larger than that of any other modern nation, including that of the United States. Evidence may be found, of all places, in the *Illustrated History of the Russian Revolution* (New York, 1928), a Communist publication. Obviously, Russian labor, largely lacking skills, discipline, and the famous "Protestant work ethics," could not be well paid any more than in any other "emerging nation" in the first phase of industrialization when heavy investments are necessary and the purchasing power of the masses is still exceedingly low. The new class of Russian entrepreneurs, needless to say, were not members of the old upper layers, but *homines novi* – industri-

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ous blacksmiths, bright peasant boys, aggressive skilled workers with foreign experience. Small amounts of capital allowed miracles to be worked, and soon Russia became Europe's "Eastern America," brimming with Horatio Alger stories.

One has to admit, however, that the newly rich often displayed their freshly acquired wealth in rather crude fashion. Thus, today a foreign embassy in Moscow is housed in the palace of a sugar king's mistress – but this particular millionaire was the son of a serf. Yet, we may be sure that his income, if spread evenly among his workers, would not materially have improved their lot, which surely worsened after 1917.

At the outbreak of World War II the wages paid to workers were lower than before the Revolution. One has only to read the splendid work of Manya Gordon, *Workers Before and After Lenin* (New York, 1940), to get the relevant data. Of course, the illusion that a radical redistribution of income fundamentally improves the living standards of the lowest classes is still general among loose-thinking sociologists. Socialism also feeds on this erroneous belief. It is, however, the *bigger cake*, not the reslicing, which improves the lot of the many. And the bigger cake requires wise reinvestments, good management, and a high ethical concept of work.

With the Communist Revolution, Russian industry and agriculture took a nose dive. The peasant class, at first, did not resist Communism, because the remainder of the large and medium estates was distributed among them. Lenin also permitted during several years a minor trade which quickly started to bloom. These, even to Lenin's mind, were only temporary concessions. Stalin liquidated not only the "New Economic Policy" (NEP) but also the independent peasantry. First the *kulaks* were expropriated and partly exterminated; then the rest were crushed and collectivized. The Five-Year-Plans were put into action. Since then, a dark night had settled over the Russian economy.

A Low Standard of Living

Today, we might get impressive (but who knows how accurate?) statistics about production but we do know that East German aid to the space program has been substantial. We also know that machinery imported from Czechoslovakia and Hungary abounds in the USSR, but we fully realize that the living standards of the masses, including the professional class (other than a tiny top sector), are truly miserable. Assum-

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ing that the rouble is US $1.20, the salaries and wages for workers, doctors, factory directors are not so terribly bad by West-European standards. But let us remember that the rouble can be bought in Vienna or Zurich for 19 cents, and this gives us a far more accurate picture of conditions inside the Soviet Union.

One must admit that medical services (of a modest nature) are gratuitous. Also, rents are very low, but not so if we consider them in relation to space; then, indeed, they are very high. Only university professors, members of the Academy of Sciences, directors of leading theaters, writers, prima ballerinas, and certain very highly placed civil servants live well; but we should not believe that thereby they are all "bought" and really believe in Communism. The purely managerial class is not at all well off. A factory director usually could not feed his family. His wife would have to work as well. Yet, socially speaking, he would arrogantly look down on teachers, engineers and so forth. Status and income are by no means identical.

The "Theory of Convergence"

Curiously enough, there is in the Western world, and especially in the United States, a rather widely-held belief that the radical differences in social structure and economics between East and West are gradually disappearing, that the West is becoming more and more "socialistic" and the Soviet Bloc more and more "capitalistic," thus eventually ensuring peace. This is the famous "theory of convergence", a very soothing theory indeed. Andrei Amalrik, the brilliant (and again jailed) author of *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* has rightly ridiculed this notion because he knows only too well that practically all Russians are absolutists, that institutions in the East are not bent but broken, that dogmatism and revolution, not relativism and evolution, dominate Eastern life. English-speaking nations, to the contrary, are enamored of the notion of evolution, of nice, little, painless, gradual changes. In addition, they mistake welfarism for socialism. The latter means the ownership of the means of production by the state. Of course, in practice all socialist countries are "welfarist" (and stand for the Provider State), but not all Provider States are socialistic. (In Sweden 90 per cent of economic resources are still privately owned, though this might change in the near future. Of course, "welfarism" in the Western world is on the rise, but this itself will never close the gap between East and West.) Even the

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undeniable convergence between Russia and Red China does not particularly make for peace.

The only socialist country in Europe which has made ideological compromises on the economic front is Yugoslavia, which from the Muscovite point of view is a heretical outsider. It still has a free peasantry and small private enterprises with up to fifteen employees. But the future of Yugoslavia nationally and economically is dim. Economically, this is the case because free enterprise is a system which walks on long legs and socialism on short legs. What happens if one leg is long and the other one short? Such an economy will be prone to fall on its nose. And besides Yugoslavia, only Poland has a non-collectivized peasantry.

No More Private Enterprises

When I first visited the USSR in 1930 at the age of twenty, I was even then struck by the fact that the only surviving free entrepreneurs were the watch-repairmen, the bootblacks, cobblers and a few tailors. I saw no private stores left. At my later visit in 1963, "socialization" was total and complete. Bootblacks received a salary and that was it. As far as the Soviets were concerned, there was and there still is no sign of an economic "convergence". (There is, however, a fair amount of neo-Stalinism in the domains of intellectual and religious life). It is true that there are a few economic theorists (like Liberman) who, though not dreaming of a renewal of private enterprise, are attracted by the idea of competition. But it is impossible to see how one could have genuine competition when the economy is centrally planned and rests squarely on state monopolies (dragging along totally uneconomic industrial enterprises).

A return to private enterprise and private ownership is, above all, ideologically out of the question. It is significant that the micro-elite with their very substantial incomes squander them almost planlessly because they cannot buy anything of permanent value – real estate, houses, precious metals, bonds with a fixed value. The *datcha* (country house) which, after a fashion, they "own" stands on state ground and could be "removed" any time. They spend vast sums on good food, expensive drinks, pictures (also from officially proscribed painters) and – perhaps the only genuine piece of real estate – on pompous mausoleums in exclusive cemetery sections. There won't be and there cannot be in this domain a genuine change, because communism's most fundamental dogma is state

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ownership of the means of production, and the Kremlin's crucial strategy is the *utter material dependence* of its subjects upon the state. (That the state one nice day should wither away, nobody while of sound mind takes seriously.)

Is there a hankering of the Russion people for personal independence and private enterprise? A genuine yearning? Or is the Russian underground opposition merely hostile to the most tyrannical aspects of the present government while accepting in its heart a socialist order? There is a widespread belief in the West (in America, probably, more than in Europe) that the memory of personal property and free enterprise in the USSR is dead as a doornail and that what the Russians today desire is merely a bit more privacy, freedom of expression, and a chance to read flashy American periodicals. By and large this view is not true to fact. To the contrary, the critique of the totalitarian excesses of the regime is more and more being supplanted with a mounting protest against the system itself. The once so meekly expressed preference for a "genuine Marxism-Leninism" to Stalinism or Neo-Stalinism is increasingly replaced with violent attacks against Marxism. I think there would be an even more general attack in the underground publications against all forms of socialism if there were a better understanding of the nature and possibility of private enterprise on a large scale.

A Cruel System of Controls

In the mid-nineteen-thirties a Hungarian Communist writer, Erwin Sinkó, settled for more than a year in Moscow. In his brilliant account of that period published in German, *Der Roman eines Romans* (Cologne, 1962 and 1967), he provides us with a great many interesting observations and insights. (Sinkó died as a Titoist in Yugoslavia only a few years ago). He was in the USSR at the beginning of the Big Purges but shamefacedly admits that he was not aware of them.

He saw that the USSR was producing goods far more expensively than Western Europe (largely on account of poor work ethics and the frightening bureaucracy) and quotes his Jewish landlord to the effect that he would never become a Bolshevik because Socialism is intrinsically cruel. He also offers us a wonderful, lively portrait of a cobbler who then still was able to pursue his humble trade on a street corner almost literally crushed by taxes designed to ruin his business. But the man held out heroically to keep his precarious

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freedom and independence. Stubbornly he refused to join the state-owned shoe repair workshops.

Today, needless to say, nothing of the sort would be tolerated for a moment. All that remains of private enterprise is the gray market for agricultural products provisioned from the small personal plots of the farmers (always subject to recall and cancellation), a very limited market without which the Soviet population would have died of starvation years ago. (The misery of a peasantry constituting over 30 per cent of the total population of the country, which in spite of excellent soils is unable to feed the USSR properly, is really the scandal of the century.)

Socialism Easy to Explain

During my stay in the USSR I often talked with people about their country's economic problems. Thanks to a variety of sources (among which Western radio stations figure prominently) the masses of the Russians do realize that our living standards are much higher than theirs and many of them, in a way, are puzzled by this state of affairs. "Here," they said, "everything is carefully calculated and planned in advance, and you in the West are subject to the chaos of a free competitive enterprise. How then is it possible that you are so much better off than we are?" This surprise is simply due to the fact that Socialism is what Tocqueville called *une fausse idée claire*, a false, but clear idea.

One can explain socialism to anybody in ten minutes, giving him the essence of that doctrine in a nutshell. Free enterprise, which is far more progressive and sophisticated, needs a great deal more time and effort for its exposition. (Socialism, one ought never to forget, exists in many a primitive society with very little stress placed on human personality and therefore it appeals so strongly to people in the Third World.)

Of course, the value of small personal enterprise was quickly grasped by my interlocutors. "But do you think it to be just if a single person has millions of roubles or owns a huge factory employing hundreds of workers – they would then be at his mercy, wouldn't they?" Such arguments arise because among the Soviet citizens there no longer exists the memory of a free laboring class (or of collective bargaining).

The real surprise to most of my acquaintances came when I told them about the workings of a stock company. "Yes, fine, but who is permitted to buy these stocks? What party affiliation must he have?" The idea that simply any-

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body can buy stocks and thus get a share in the enterprise came as an added shock, but once a man pointed an accusing finger at me and said: "What you tell us can't be true and I'll tell you why. If your representation is correct then a worker could buy shares of his own factory and get the dividends of his own labor and thus become employer and employee in one person – the boss of his manager – and that's patently impossible." When I explained to him that it was quite feasible and occasionally does happen, everybody was nonplussed and one person declared that such state of affairs was "exceedingly democratic" (which in a certain way it is).

Signs of Opposition

Yet "capitalist thinking," without the slightest chance of being adopted by the government, is gaining growing adherence in opposition circles. The excellent work by Cornelia I. Gerstenmaier, *Die Stimme der Stummen* (which will soon be published in the United States) shows a real change of mind. The author, who is a serious German scholar and has spent considerable time in Russia, is the daughter of a former chairman of the Bonn Diet. She had and still has access to the typed and retyped publications of what one jokingly calls *Samizdat*, the "Self-Publishing Company". There she tells us, among others, of the famous programmatic pamphlet of Alekseyev and Zorin, "Time Does Not Wait," where these two authors – the pseudonyms cover a technologist and an educator – inform us that "the deadly grip of the government on economics must come to an end." A manifesto of the so-called "Democratic Movement of Russia, the Ukraine and the Baltic Nations" – this label itself tells a story! – insists that state, group, and *private* enterprises ought to get the same rights in managing the means of production.

Growing Appreciation for Freedom

Probably the most moving document in this book is that by Boris Talantov, an outstanding underground leader who early this year died in a Kirov (Vyatka) prison. Talantov was a layman and a mathematician but the scion of a family of priests. Himself a profoundly religious person, he denounced the Moscow Patriarchate for collaborating in an abject way with the Soviet government, an accusation widely printed in the West and forcefully repeated by Alexander Solzhenitsyn in an open letter. (Archbishop Nikodim – a most disreputable character as we can see from André Martin's book on religion in Russia – thereupon

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declared that Talantov "never existed" but had been invented by anti-Soviet propaganda.)

The testimony of Talantov is all the more valuable because religious groups in the Old World (under monastic influence) have traditionally shown very little interest in the burning question of private property and free enterprise. But Talantov, in whom we have to see primarily a religious martyr of the Eastern Church, as the author of a widely circulated pamphlet entitled, "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union as Ruling Class in Soviet Society," knew the real nature of the evil. Here he gave us a precise analysis why there can be no freedom, no respect for the dignity of the person in a socialist system. He even strongly emphasized the *economic* superiority of free enterprise over state capitalism. The latter insures the total enslavement of the working class and, incidentally, also the economic enforcement of atheism by a methodic discrimination against religious workers. Private enterprise, Talantov insisted, not only guarantees a minimum of freedom, but also produces goods of greater quality with fewer economic inputs.

Has the Russian underground embraced Adam Smith? It would be premature to answer this question in the affirmative. It is certain, however, that a chance for sound economic thinking exists, not, of course, within the Soviet government, but among its internal enemies who are all very much aware of the West's material superiority. As a matter of fact, religious, political and economic truth in the Soviet Union is engaged in a heroic uphill fight; whereas in the West, truth, due to mental sloth, envy, jealousy, and the masochistic denigration of one's own traditions, is slipping and sliding, is obscured and forgotton. Under these circumstances it would be a real shame for us, who had all the breaks, if the Light again would be coming from the East.

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Service

WHOEVER could make two ears of corn, or two blades of grass, to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind, and do more essential service to his country than the whole race of politicians put together.

JONATHAN SWIFT

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CLARENCE B. CARSON

THE FOUNDING OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC

13

The American Triumph

THAT THE AMERICANS were eventually triumphant in the War for Independence is a matter of record. The triumph was military, diplomatic, and big with portent for the future of republics. That the triumph could have come earlier, could have been more decisive, and could have involved the United States in fewer entanglements, is speculation. George Washington thought that the victory could have come much sooner. In his circular letter to the governors of the states in 1783, he declared that if he had sufficient space he "could demonstrate to every mind open to conviction, that in less time, and with much less expense than has been incurred, the war might have been brought to the same happy conclusion, if the resources of the continent could have been properly drawn forth. . . ."[1] Speculation is not history of course, but it does sometimes help to shed light on history. The prolongation of the war due to the failure to muster American resources effectively brought in its train a host of consequences, some of which entangled America with European powers at just that time when they were effecting their independence of England.

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The scope of the war was greatly broadened from 1778 onward. It spread and extended over much of the North American continent. There was extensive fighting in the Ohio valley, in Georgia and the Carolinas (fighting which involved Loyalists on a considerable scale, and heightened domestic animosities), in western New York, as well as elsewhere. Those who follow only George Washington's army during the course of the war lose sight of the vast amount of territory being contended for. The war became, also, a world war before it was over. France entered the fray against Britain in 1778, Spain in 1779, and Holland in 1780, though the last two were not allied with the United States. In addition, there was a naval League of Armed Neutrality of other European powers organized against Britain.

American diplomats went to Europe seeking allies, munitions, and, above all, loans, to bolster sagging finances. European monarchs were hardly devoted to the idea of the rise of a republic in America or its independence (though some Frenchmen were); most of them did have axes to grind with Britain. Moreover, there was territory they would like to acquire or protect, and trade they would like to gain for their ships and ports. The aborning United States was caught up to some extent in the cross currents of the conflicting interests of European powers. Some Americans—notably Silas Deane, Arthur Lee, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay—experienced the machinations of European diplomats at first hand, an experience which confirmed most of them in their beliefs about the corruption of the Old World. However, America came out of all this much better than might have been expected.

Changed British Strategy

Despite the French alliance and the portending entry of other European powers into the conflict, the American military position did not generally improve for some while. British strategy did change from what it had been up to 1778. During the early part of the war, Britain had focused the major military effort on the Middle States and their seaport cities. This approach was largely abandoned after Saratoga. Though the British continued to hold New York City and to concentrate the major army there, as things turned out this was a defensive position from 1778 until the end of the war.

British strategists at home pushed for the concentration of offensive measures in the South. Having failed in their efforts to

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conquer America by attacking at the points of the concentration of strength, they advocated attacking at the weakest point. This strategy had much to commend it. After all, the key to the effective control over much of what had been English America was Virginia. Virginia was the most populous of the states, the oldest of the colonies, the one in which the Anglican religion had been longest established, the producer of much that was most wanted by British merchants for world trade, and the hub of the Southern wheel. If Britain could control Virginia and the lower South, plus Canada, it might still dominate the vast eastern Mississippi valley region. Virginia already laid claim to much of the territory west of the Alleghenies; the conquest of Virginia might vouchsafe it to Britain. The approach to Virginia might be made from the lower South which was the weakest link in the colonial chain. Georgia was the least populous of the states, and a considerable portion of the population of South Carolina was slave. North Carolina was known to have an important Loyalist contingent.

Savannah fell to British forces in December of 1778, and early the next year they took over the rest of Georgia and installed a Loyal government. But the British stationed in Georgia had little success during the next year with their forays into South Carolina; the force sent there was not adequate to such a campaign. Early in 1780, however, General Clinton, who had been reluctant to undertake the Southern campaign, finally did so; he was able to take Charleston May 12, 1780 with a vastly superior military and naval force. Clinton returned to New York, entrusting the Southern campaign now to Lord Cornwallis. Cornwallis was probably the ablest field commander the British ever had in America. He was daring, courageous, beloved of his men, could win battles when the odds were against him by audacious tactics, and did win many battles. In fact, he won most of the battles and lost the war.

For the remainder of 1780, Cornwallis see-sawed back and forth between South and North Carolina with his army. Virtually the whole Patriot army in that region had been surrendered at Charleston, necessitating the assembly of a new force in the deep South. Congress sent General Horatio Gates, the victorious commander at Saratoga, southward with a core of Continentals to do the job. As it turned out, his victory at Saratoga had given General Gates a much greater reputation than he deserved. Cornwallis

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routed his army at Camden in August; Gates fled the scene of battle on the fastest horse he could command, and was sixty miles away before he considered it safe to stop. His army was scattered, and his reputation was ruined.

Nathanael Greene assumed command of the Patriot forces in the Carolinas late in the year, and he proved worthy of the calling. He was as successful at maneuvering as his mentor, George Washington, but Cornwallis did not tarry overlong to test his talents. Instead, Cornwallis moved northward into Virginia in 1781, while Greene drove southward into South Carolina. In the course of the year he was so successful against British posts that they held only Charleston by the end of the year. Indeed, a pattern emerged in the South similar to the one elsewhere on the continent. The British frequently won the pitched battles, but once the main army moved on, the post left behind soon fell to Patriot forces.

During the late spring and into the summer of 1781 Cornwallis rampaged across Virginia with a much larger army than the Americans could muster in that state. When the American forces were increased, Cornwallis decided to establish a base accessible to the sea. He decided upon Yorktown which is located on the peninsula between the York and James rivers. He set up camp there in early August.

Showdown at Yorktown

Virginians had for some time been pleading with Washington to come with his army to save his home state. However, Washington was confronting the largest British army in America in New York; victory over it would most likely be decisive; he wanted only the help of the French fleet to undertake it, and the French fleet was rarely available to him. However, he determined upon concentrating his effort against Cornwallis at Yorktown when the French agreed to aid him. Washington's Continentals were now reinforced by a major French army under the command of the Comte de Rochambeau. Washington took pains to tie Clinton's army down in New York both by leaving a sizable detachment behind and by getting misleading information to him.

The attacking army usually has a plan which, if it works, should bring victory, much as each play by the offense in football is conceived to make a touchdown – if it works. In battle, the aim is to bring such force to bear at selected points that it may be expected to break up the opposing army.

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Timing and coordination are the requisite conditions and are the most difficult to achieve. Washington's plan depended upon much greater coordination of a variety of elements than would commonly be involved. He had to move an army several hundred miles, most of them going over land. His heavy artillery was dispatched by sea, but its arrival was dependent on the dispersal of the British navy. The French navy had to be available at the right time or Cornwallis might be reinforced or his army transported elsewhere.

For once, all went well for the combined American and French undertaking. Clinton kept his army in New York; Admiral de Grasse, the French naval commander, turned up with the fleet at the right time, and lured the British navy out to sea after having successfully engaged it in action. Cornwallis stayed where he was, cut off by sea from retreat. The Continentals and the French were joined by the militia to make a formidably superior force under Washington. Cornwallis did not deign to attempt daring maneuvers to break out in these circumstances; after only a brief try against the forces, which did not even bring most of his army into play, he surrendered his army intact. The memorable date was October 19, 1781.

Yorktown was the great victory of the American War for Independence. It had all, or almost all, of the right ingredients. Washington was in command of the victorious; after so many years of perseverance in the face of the odds, his hour had come. That Cornwallis should have been the British commander defeated was as it should be, too, for no other British commander had routed so many American armies. Even the surrender was dramatically conducted, though Cornwallis sent a subaltern to do the dishonors. With the French lined up on one side and the Americans on the other, the British marched between them to the tune of "The World Turned Upside Down" to the place where they laid down their arms. The British turned their eyes toward the French, as if in contempt of the Americans. They were roundly jeered by the Americans who waited to do so, wisely, until the British had thrown down their arms. Thus ended the last great battle of the war.

There had been and were to be American victories elsewhere, some with great portent for the future, though none so dramatic or decisive for victory in the war as that at Yorktown. Neither the British nor Americans had entirely neglected the western and south-

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ern frontiers. The British attempted to dominate the land beyond the mountains largely with the aid of the Indians. However, in 1778 and 1779 George Rogers Clark of Virginia broke the back of this dominance. Of Clark's victory at Vincennes in 1779, a military historian has said: "His march across flooded Illinois may not compare for hardship with Arnold's long journey through the Maine wilderness in 1775, yet the issue was happier, the victory complete and significant. British power in the West was broken, and despite the failure to take Detroit, Clark helped make it possible for the vast area to be included within the boundaries of the United States of America at the peace treaty."[2] Less grand in its dimensions but equally important for a smaller area, Georgia was reconquered by the Patriots in 1782, the culmination of a long series of exploits by General Anthony Wayne.

Much went on during the War for Independence besides military and naval battles, of course. Nor was the American triumph, in the final analysis, simply a military triumph. What Americans would do with their independence was surely more important than whether they would have it. One thing Americans were determined not to have for very long was arbitrary government. They thought that the way to avoid this was to have a written constitution. When Richard Henry Lee made a motion for independence in the Second Continental Congress in June of 1776, he included with his resolution a proposal that some plan of confederation be devised. Such a plan to be acceptable, of course, would have to be of the nature of a constitution. A committee was appointed to attend to this even before independence had been formally declared. A few days after the adoption of the Declaration, the committee presented what were called Articles of Confederation to the Congress. They were drafted, in the main, by John Dickinson.

Congress did not move with such dispatch to approve them, however, nor the states to their ratification. Some debate was wedged in from time to time between the more pressing items of business which confronted the Congress. The Articles of Confederation were finally adopted by Congress in 1777 and sent along in due course for the states to ratify. Most of the states acted within the next fourteen months, but Maryland withheld ratification for several years. The main issue was western lands, particularly the extensive claims of Virginia beyond the mountains. Virginia would have been huge in comparison with the other states if it had con-

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sisted only of the present states of Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky, which it did; but that parent state laid claim to vast territory in the Ohio valley as well. Agreements of the states involved to yield up their western claims brought Maryland into the fold on March 1, 1781.

On the occasion, the *Pennsylvania Packet* editorialized in this jubilant fashion:

> This great event, which will confound our enemies, fortify us against their arts of seduction, and frustrate their plans of division, was announced to the public at twelve o'clock under the discharge of the artillery on the land, and the cannon of the shipping in the Delaware. The bells were rung, and every manifestation of joy shown on the occasion. . . .[3]

Truth to tell, however, it had taken more than half as long to get the Articles adopted as they would serve as the foundation for a union.

The Articles of Confederation

The Articles of Confederation were born of the necessity for the states to unite in order to carry on war against Britain and were given their content by the reaction to the increasing use of British power which occasioned the war. While men recognized the need for united action against a common enemy they were most reluctant to locate much power in a central government – or, if Madison was right in his later analysis, even to establish such a government.

There was considerable ambiguity as to the status of the states and of the union from the outset. That ambiguity was a product both of history and the desires of the people. On the one hand, the colonies had never been united with one another before 1776 – except by their allegiance to the king of England, which tended to separate them from one another rather than to link them together. On the other hand, they acted together both in their resistance to British impositions and eventually in separating from England. There was no point in time when the states were independent and sovereign on their own. As John Fiske said: "It is . . . clear that in the very act of severing their connection with England these commonwealths entered into some sort of union which was incompatible with their absolute sovereignty taken severally."[4]

Yet, the term "state" was early used to apply to most of them, and the name has stuck (in general usage even when the "state" involved is actually styled a "commonwealth"). The most common meaning attached to "state" in political theory and usage is this: "the body politic as organized for

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supreme civil rule and government." A "state" is also usually referred to as sovereign and independent.

The Articles of Confederation did attempt to clear up any confusion in status; the question was formally resolved in favor of state sovereignty. The union established under the Articles was styled a confederation. In common usage, a confederation is an alliance or league among sovereign states. The articles appeared to affirm that this was to be the case. Article II says, "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled." What is implied here is a division of powers: some to be retained and exercised by the states individually, others to be conferred upon the confederation to be exercised jointly. But once such powers were conferred, the states would lose their absolute sovereignty. Could some plan not be devised whereby the states could retain their sovereignty individually, yet act together in common concerns? The Articles of Confederation attempted to do this.

What was tried was to make the Congress continually and completely dependent upon the states. Congress was denied the power of taxation, nor did it have any enforcement machinery of its own, i.e., it had neither constabulary nor courts. Moreover, the representatives to the Congress were to be chosen by or under the direction of the state legislatures. Each state was to have only one vote in the Congress, though a state might have from two to seven delegates. Care was taken that the members of Congress did not gain personal power. This was guarded against by having members subject to recall by the states at any time and prohibiting that any person serve more than three years in any six year period. The picture that emerges from this is of the states resolutely clinging to their power.

With the above restrictions upon it, Congress was ostensibly granted extensive authority. It was empowered to make war and peace, send and receive ambassadors and ministers, emit bills of credit, borrow money, make treaties and alliances, establish a post office, settle various kinds of disputes arising among the states, appoint high ranking military and all naval officers, fix the value of coins, regulate weights and measures, and manage Indian affairs where a state was not directly involved. Further to cement the union, the Articles provided that

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each state was to give full faith and credit to the acts of the others and that citizens of any state could move from state to state.

The Articles also limited state power in a variety of ways. States were prohibited to carry on diplomatic relations with other countries or enter into treaties or alliances with them without the consent of Congress. In a similar fashion, states were forbidden to form alliances or confederations with one another. States were limited in the military or naval forces they could have and restricted in their war-making powers to defensive action.

Although the Articles of Confederation were soon to be adjudged inadequate to the needs of union – and a further critique of them is made in a subsequent chapter –, they are nonetheless important for reasons in addition to the fact that they served briefly as a basis of governing the United States. First of all, the Articles were the first United States constitution. They were influential in the drawing of the Constitution of 1787; some of the language was taken verbatim into the later document. They provided for a limited government with specified powers, probably the most important principle of the Constitution. And, the Articles attempted to divide and separate powers among two different levels of government, a principle which the later document incorporated much more effectively. The Articles of Confederation signify the triumph of limited constitutional government in America, even though they were a groping toward and a demonstrably insufficient realization of it.

The Treaty of Paris, 1783

The greatest achievement under the Articles of Confederation was the Treaty of Paris of 1783. By its terms the thirteen states not only attained their independence but also acquired an empire beyond the mountains. The acquisition of this vast domain was probably the greatest diplomatic triumph in American history. That a people who had won so few battles, who had such a weak central government, who had never managed to bring many of their resources to bear in the prosecution of the war effort, who were so dependent on the aid of other countries, should have such success at the peace table requires a little explanation.

The American success was helped by the precarious situation of the English. Britain wanted an end to the war, but her leaders were eager to prevent gains by European powers. Lord North's government fell in early

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1782 in the most humiliating manner. A motion carried to make it a crime to advance the notion that the colonies could be restored by war. Lord North was replaced by the Earl of Rockingham, "the old Whig and repealer of the Stamp Act," who "was recalled to preside over a government committed to the abandonment of the former American colonies in revolt and to the liquidation of the world war in progress."[5] He died shortly, and was replaced by Lord Shelburne who was, if anything, more favorably disposed to the Americans than Rockingham.

France had already renounced any claim to any territory on the continent of North America in the Franco-American Alliance of 1778. Even so, France was not eager to see Canada become a part of the United States. Moreover, France was allied with Spain and was, in this way, entangled with Spanish territorial ambitions. As if this were not enough, Congress instructed its peace commission to follow the guidance of the French in the treaty making.

It was left to the peace commission either to utilize to American advantage the animosities, jealousies, and rivalries of European powers or to have American ambitions subordinated to them. It was in the hands, then, of Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and John Adams. A hostess thinking in terms of compatible guests probably would not have invited these three at the same time. Jay and Adams could get along well enough together. Both men were distrustful of European diplomats; they considered them corrupt and devious. Jay's recent experiences in Spain had fortified him in this opinion. John Adams was a Yankee — an American —, and proud of it. Truly one of the great men among the Founders, Adams' greatness was circumscribed by a temperament which tended to alienate others and a physique more suited to a mortician than a statesman. It was his fate to labor ever in the shade of men whose most lauded attainments he would hardly have considered worthy of his best efforts. He lacked Franklin's resiliency, Washington's commanding presence, Hamilton's dynamic drive, and Jefferson's knack for illuminating philosophical positions with unforgettable prose. Yet, great man he was, his constancy to the American cause was as enduring as Washington's, and his sacrifices for it were rarely exceeded. What he lacked as a diplomat he made up for with his commitment to his country. Benjamin Franklin was — well, Benjamin Franklin: diplomat par excellence, homely economist, scientist and inventor,

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and international *bon vivant*. A good diplomat is one who yields everything to the other party except the substance for which they are contending. For much of his life Franklin had devoted himself to the austere task of learning to get his way by subterfuge. His years in Paris were a fitting epitome to a long life. These three matched and overmatched the best Europe could send against them.

Even before negotiations got under way, informal French and Spanish proposals had been brought to Jay's attention which would have turned the territory south of the Ohio over to Spain and allowed Britain to keep the territory north of the Ohio. "If this French proposal, which so pleased the Spaniards, had been adopted, the United States would not have secured from Great Britain title to the region now composing the present states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, and would have lost to Spain the western part of Kentucky and Tennessee, Mississippi, and part of Louisiana, along with most of Alabama."[6] In view of the fact that Spain wanted Gibraltar from Britain and Britain wanted to hold on to Florida, the above dispositions might have been made if all interested parties had gathered around a table to negotiate or if France had been allowed the role of arbitrator.

This did not happen. The Americans ignored the instructions of Congress to defer to France, negotiated a settlement with Britain, and saw to it that this settlement was subsequently made a part of the overall treaty. They were faithful to the terms of alliance with France, for this was not a separate peace, but they undoubtedly exceeded the bounds Congress had set for them.

In the treaty, the United States got all the territory west to the Mississippi river, south to the 31st parallel, and north to a line bisecting the Great Lakes, or south of Canada. The British also conceded that the people of the United States could use the North Atlantic fisheries. The independence of the states was affirmed, hostilities were to cease, and Britain agreed to remove her armed forces from the United States "with all convenient speed."

There were some concessions made by the United States. Both sides agreed that creditors of either country should have no obstacles put in the way of collecting debts owed them by citizens of the other. Most of the creditors involved were British. Congress was to recommend to the states that the rights and property of Loyalists be restored, and the treaty provided that the persecution of

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Loyalists should end. Britain and the United States agreed to the free navigation of the Mississippi, but Spain, the other country with territory on it, did not join in the agreement.

The Treaty of Paris was truly an American triumph. George Washington described its portent in these words: "The citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world, and abounding with all the necessaries and conveniences of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and independence."[7] Some decades ago, an American historian declared: "On the part of the Americans the treaty of Paris was one of the most brilliant triumphs in the whole history of modern diplomacy."[8] A more recent diplomatic historian has seconded this opinion: "The greatest victory in the annals of American diplomacy was won at the outset by Franklin, Jay, and Adams."[9]

Disbanding the Troops

The greatest triumph of all, however, requires an appreciation of what might have been but was not to stand out in relief. The most critical moment for the success of the American Revolution almost certainly came in 1783. It was at about the time of the British withdrawal of forces from the east coast. The Continental army, what remained of it in camps along with what might have been summoned again into service, was now the only considerable force in the United States. This was the moment for a military *coup d'état*, if there was to be one, the moment when the American Revolution might have followed the course of so many others. Nor was the provocation lacking. The military had been sorely neglected during the long years of war. Now that the victory had been won, the army was invited to disband and its members return home without being paid what had so long been promised.

George Washington was almost certainly the key to what would and did happen at this critical juncture. His prestige had grown during the years of his command, until at the end of the war he was the pre-eminent American. His critics had harmed only themselves; they were chipping at granite with teaspoons. He was approached more than once with the idea that he take over the country. There is no evidence that he ever seriously contemplated such a course. On the contrary, he rebuked those who hinted at

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such things, and persisted in doing his duty as he saw it. His duty as he saw it was, having finished his military task to lay down his sword, following the path he had ever trod of subordination to the civil authorities, and return to his peaceful pursuits at Mount Vernon. His every utterance confirmed, too, that in this case duty was happily joined to his heart's desire, for he longed for the leisure to pursue his private affairs. Moreover, the manner in which he conducted himself in his resignation and retirement should leave no reasonable doubt as to his sincerity. A little retelling of some of the events of his last months of service will underscore the point.

Two events of early 1783 indicate that there was danger of a military revolt. The first of these is the one known as the Newburgh Address, which was a letter sent around to Washington's officers exhorting them to take matters into their own hands to get what they thought they deserved. Washington ordered his officers assembled and to be presided over by General Horatio Gates who, it is believed, had a hand in the Address. When they were assembled, Washington came into the room and asked to be allowed to say a few words to them. He told them that he knew well how much they had suffered and could sympathize with their wish to be rewarded. But he bade them to keep their faith in and with Congress. He had with him a letter from a member of Congress which he thought might help to restore their faith if he read from it. But when he opened it up to read, he had difficulty making out some of the words. He took out his eyeglasses and put them on — he had not worn them in public before —, and looking up from the letter, he said: "I have grown gray in your service, and now find myself growing blind." It is said that the eyes of those gathered round filled with tears, for they knew how sturdily he had borne so much for so many years. It was hardly necessary for him to finish what he had to say. Once Washington withdrew, the officers adopted a resolution affirming their confidence in Congress and declared that they rejected "with disdain the infamous proposals contained in a late anonymous address to them."[10] Of less potential for mischief was an event in June, though it does show what might have been. Fewer than a hundred soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line regiment descended on Congress at Philadelphia and threatened them in such a way that Congress retired to hold its deliberations at Princeton. Washington sent troops to put down this

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little uprising in Pennsylvania.

The last major contingent of British forces departed from New York City in early December of 1783. Just prior to their taking leave the Continental troops moved into the city to see that everything went off in an orderly way. It was an occasion for great rejoicing as the Continentals marched in, for the British had occupied the city for more than seven years. A spectator wrote: "We had been accustomed for a long time to military display in all the finish and finery of garrison life; the troops just leaving us were as if equipped for show, and with their scarlet uniforms and burnished arms, made a brilliant display; the troops that marched in, on the contrary, were ill-clad and weather beaten, and made a forlorn appearance; but then they were *our* troops, and as I looked at them and thought upon all they had done and suffered for us, my heart and eyes were full, and I admired and gloried in them the more, because they were weather beaten and forlorn."[11]

The time had at last come for George Washington to take leave of the army he had served for eight and a half years. He notified the officers that he would bid them farewell at Fraunces' Tavern at noon of the day of departure. All who could make it gathered there. It was a moving occasion. Washington was so filled with emotion that he could hardly speak. "With a heart full of love and gratitude," he said, "I now take my leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your later days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." So saying, he asked that each of them would come by to shake his hand, since he feared he would not be able to make it around to them. General Henry Knox, who had served him faithfully for so many years, came first; Washington was so overcome that a handshake would not do. He embraced him as both of them wept. "Once done, this had of course to be done with all from Steuben to the youngest officer. With streaming eyes, they came to him, received the embrace, and passed on."[12]

Washington hoped to make it home to Virginia by Christmas when he set out from New York. But there were many festive occasions to be attended along the way, and he had business to do first. He journeyed to Philadelphia to turn in his accounts. Then he went on to Annapolis to resign his commission before Congress.

This he did just after twelve o'clock on December 23rd. The galleries were packed for the occasion, though many members of Congress were absent at this time. As the ceremony began, Washing-

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ton's biographer says that "a hush of high expectance prevailed." Washington began his address: "Mr. President: The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place; I have now the honor of offering my sincere Congratulations to Congress and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country."[13]

It was a solemn and affecting spectacle. . . . The spectators all wept, and there was hardly a member of Congress who did not drop tears. The General's hand which held the address shook as he read it. When he spoke of the officers who had composed his family, and recommended those who had continued in it to the present moment to the favorable notice of Congress he was obliged to support the paper with both hands. But when he commended the interests of his dearest country to almighty God . . . his voice faltered and sunk, and the whole house felt his agitations.

When Washington regained his composure, he concluded strongly:

Having now finished the work assigned me I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body under whose orders I have so long acted I here offer my commission and take my leave of all the employments of public life.[14]

As soon as the ceremony was over, Washington set out for Mount Vernon, and by hard riding was able to make it home to spend Christmas day with his wife and grandchildren. The American Cincinnatus had returned to his plow.

• FOOTNOTES •

1 Jack P. Greene, ed., *Colonies to Nation* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967), p. 443.

2 Howard H. Peckham, *The War for Independence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), pp. 109-10.

3 Quoted in Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation* (New York: Vintage Books, 1950), pp. 26-27.

4 John Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), p. 91.

5 Dan Lacy, *The Meaning of the American Revolution* (New York: New American Library, 1964), p. 191.

6 Samuel F. Bemis, *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957), p. 219.

7 Greene, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

8 Fiske, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

9 Bemis, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

10 Fiske, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

11 Quoted in Douglas S. Freeman, *Washington*, abridged by Richard Harwell (New York: Scribner's, 1968), p. 506.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 507.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 509.

14 Quoted in Samuel E. Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 269.

Next: Freeing the Individual.

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ENERGY:

JAMES WEI

THE CIVILIZATION and way of life we know are supported by a steady supply of low cost raw materials drawn from farms and forests, from the mines and wells, and from the air and water. In history when the supply of a raw material runs low and when there is no substitute in sight, people wonder whether civilization can survive. William Crooks observed in 1898 that intensive farming depended on the nitrate mines in Chile, and their eventual exhaustion would bring world wide famine.[1] This did not take place as the great chemist, Haber, and the chemical engineer, Bosch, rose to the challenge and solved the problem of nitrogen fixation via ammonia synthesis from air and water.

As the skills of chemists and chemical engineers gradually increase, almost any natural raw material can be synthesized or replaced. Outside of hydrogen, the chemical elements are hardly ever

James Wei assumed The Allan P. Colburn Chair of Chemical Engineering at Delaware in 1971, following a distinguished career in industry. He received the B.S. from Georgia Tech and the M.S. and Ph.D. at MIT. At Mobil Oil, he advanced from Research Chemical Engineer to Senior Scientist and concurrently held Visiting Professorships at Princeton and Cal Tech. Upon completion of Harvard's Advanced Management Program in 1969 he returned to Mobil as Manager of Analysis. Prof. Wei received the ACS Award in Petroleum Chemistry in 1966 and the AIChE Professional Progress Award. He is a consulting editor for McGraw Hill and a member of CHEMTECH's Executive Board. Prof. Wei is best known for his work in kinetics, catalysis, and mathematical analysis, but his recent attention has been focused on creating a chemical engineering course *for freshmen*.

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lost from planet earth.[2] There is no such thing as "nonrenewable minerals" even though rich deposits are exhaustible. Everything that is "used up" is still with us, but in altered and diluted form. In this closed system of earth, we can and will recycle everything. Given enough energy, or thermodynamic free energy, we can separate and concentrate any materials and recombine them chemically to form synthetic raw material.

All of the precious material contained in the refuse of our civilization collects on our lands, floats in our air, or runs off into the oceans. They can all be recovered with sufficient expenditure of energy. From the ocean we are already recovering freshwater, magnesium, bromine – it would be even easier if we could develop organisms that concentrate some elements. Thus we realize that *energy is the ultimate raw material* which can be used to make food, water, other raw material – as well as warming and cooling our homes and operating all our machinery.

Energy Uses in the Past

The United States has always been blessed with an abundance of cheap energy to augment human and animal muscle: from the swift flowing rivers providing water power, and great forests providing fire wood, down to the modern coal mines and oil gas fields. Today, this underpinning of our entire economy and way of life consumes only 3 per cent of our gross national product. Energy cost forms only 3½ per cent of the cost of average industrial products, ranging from 8 per cent for chemicals to 0.3 per cent for apparel manufacturing.[3] The consumer cost of energy can be divided into three shares: production cost under the supervision of engineers,

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transportation and distribution costs under the supervision of marketers, and federal and local taxes. Table 1 gives the approximate current prices. Only a small part of the cost of refined fuel is in the province of engineers.[4,5,6]

Table 1. Current energy costs

	Production cost	Consumer cost
Gasoline, regular ¢/gallon	12	36
Natural gas ¢/thousand cu ft	16	148
Fuel oil, No. 2 ¢/gallon	11	20
Electricity ¢/kWh	0.7	2.8

Consumer cost = production cost + distribution and transportation cost + federal and local tax.

We use a great deal of energy because it is very cheap. Our tax laws are already designed to make energy more expensive. For instance, automotive transportation requires three ingredients: vehicle, fuel, and road. The last item belongs to the public sector and is financed mostly from taxes collected from fuel. The excise and sales tax on a vehicle is less than 10 per cent of the manufactured cost, but on gasoline it equals manufactured cost.[7] Despite this fact, the capital and maintenance cost of a piece of energy-using equipment is usually 15 to 20 times the annual cost of fuel, for automobiles, air conditioners, and electric power plants.[5,7] As long as fuel is cheap and equipment dear, we burn fuel up prodigiously. When prices go up, we complain but go on burning without a pause. Past investment in equipment is very expensive and cannot be changed readily. When copper is expensive, we can shift to aluminum; when butlers are too expensive we phase them out; but when energy is more expensive, we have neither alternative nor can we do without. If it were not for the fact that engineers continue to improve equipment to save fuel, our use of energy would be even more prodigious. For instance, in 1925 it took 25,000 Btu to make a kWh of electricity but today it takes only 9,000 Btu.[8]

Historically, the principal determinants of energy use have been number of people and scale of affluence.[9] Figure 1 shows the per capita gross national product of various nations against per capita energy use in 1961.[10] It can pass as a fairly straight line, the richer one is, the more energy he burns up. If you look at such curves long enough, you can begin to see an S-curve. As you get richer you will buy more information and service, which require less energy than hardware. U.S. commercial energy use is about 120 times the human intake of food energy; while in India it is about 3 times — for all manufacturing, farming,

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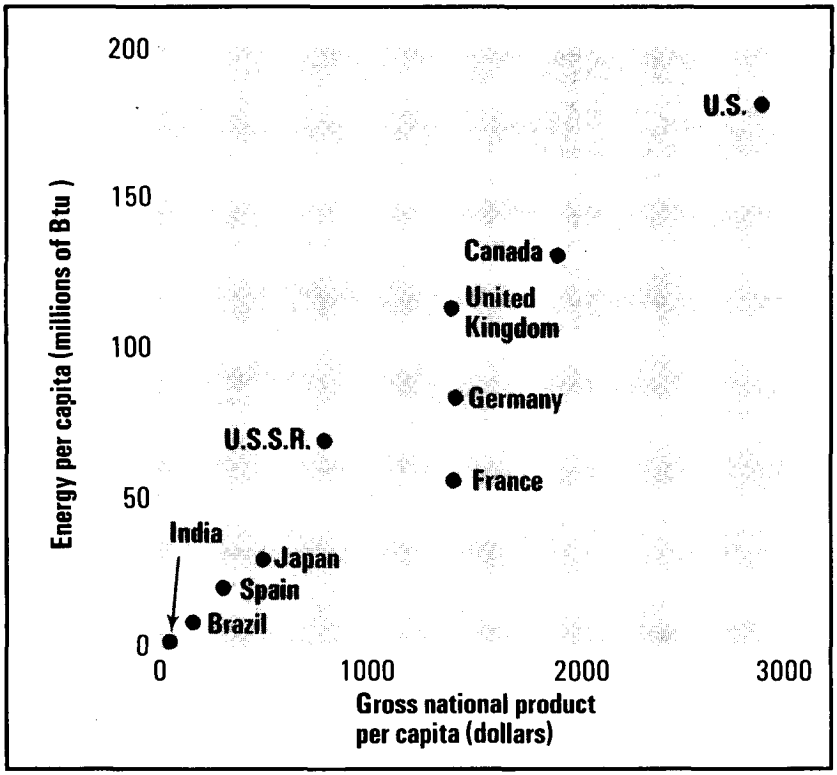

Figure 1. Nations GNP and energy use, 1961

and transport. Figure 2 shows the historical U.S. GNP growth in constant 1958 dollars (where the effect of inflation is taken out) and energy consumption in Quads (a Quad is a quadrillion Btu, or a million times a billion Btu).[11] It appears that of late, energy growth lags a little behind GNP growth. An increase in affluence without corresponding increase in energy use has never been achieved in the past and is difficult to see in the future.

There may be frivolous uses of energy, such as the electric toothbrush; but the bulk is necessary to our way of life: home fires should be kept warm, people have to get to work, food must be delivered, and the wheels of industry have to turn. The pattern of

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sources and uses of energy today, together with a government forecast for the year 2000, is given in Table 2.[12] Oil and gas have been capturing markets steadily from coal for the last thirty years, since they are cleaner, more convenient and cheaper. Nuclear power will rise to capture markets from oil and gas in the future. In the use side, electricity generation has been the fastest growing segment and will continue to be.

Table 2. U.S. sources and uses of energy as % of total

	1970	Projected 2000
SOURCES		
Oil	43	32
Gas	31	26
Coal	21	16
Hydro	4	3
Nuclear	1	23
USES		
Residence-commerce	22	13
Transportation	25	13
Industry	31	20
Electricity generation	22	44

The Two New Crises

In recent years, the energy use suddenly faces two new crises: shortage and environment. Hardly a day goes by without a black eye for energy in the mass media: Delmarva Power and Light refusing new customers in natural gas, a blackout in the eastern seaboard, birds dying in oil spilled at Santa Barbara, opposition to strip mining in West Virginia, scientists predicting that the polar ice cap will melt and flood coastal cities due to accumulation of carbon dioxide in air, scientists predicting combustion dusts will block out sun light and cause a new ice age, and a *Wall Street Journal* article declaring that planet Earth is approaching an *energy ceiling*.[13,14] A year ago, Daniel Patrick Moynihan asked, "When would this insane increase in energy use stop?" It may seem that the only way out is to use less energy in the future, save the irreplaceable resources for our grandchildren, and repair the damaged environment.

I would like to advance the thesis that there is no inevitable collision course between more energy use and better environment: a cleaner environment would mean much more use of energy. The main flaw of ecologists prophesying doom is their failure to appreciate the ingenuity of scientists and engineers in inventing technological alternatives.

A cleaner automobile means more use of fuel, to produce hotter and cleaner exhaust and to overcome pressure drop in afterburners. Taking lead out of gasoline would mean a lower compression ratio and less efficient engine, which means more fuel. Cleaner smoke stacks in power plants mean either cleaner fuel by more refining of oil and coal, or stack gas

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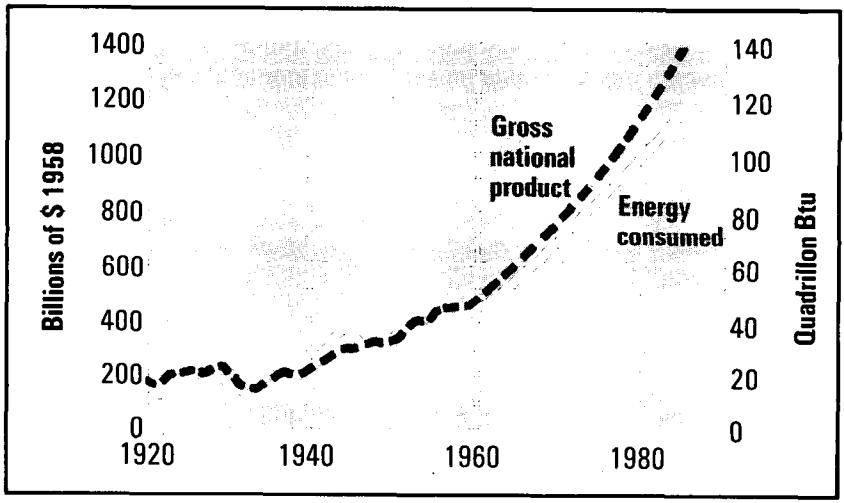

Figure 2. U.S. energy use and gross national product

scrubbing and dust removal, all requiring more energy. The Biological Oxygen Demand of waste discharged into rivers and lakes by residential-industrial-agricultural activities would require more sewage treatment and passage of more oxygen into water, which means more energy. The recycling of solid wastes means more energy use. Provided that society will face the facts and give engineers the resources and time, all the pollutants can be reduced to any required level by sufficient expenditure of energy – and a necessary increase in prices, which will decline as experience grows.

At the end, energy is used to remove all other pollutants and a vast quantity of *waste heat becomes the ultimate pollutant*. So far, this is a local dispersal problem rather than a global problem. The fishes are hot in the outlet of a power plant, and New York City is three degrees hotter than the countryside in the winter. But the man-made waste heat rejection is currently only 50 ppm of the earth's heat budget, or the quantity of solar radiation that the earth receives and sends back into space.[15]

The supply of some forms of energy is short and prices are increasing. The oil price increase is due to the demands of oil exporting countries in the Middle East, Libya, and Venezuela, plus a short-

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age of tankers; the natural gas shortage is due to industry's unwillingness to explore and to lay pipelines under the low existing government regulated prices; the coal shortage is due to earlier forecasts of its demise, and consequent underinvestment in opening new mines and manufacturing railway hopper cars; the nuclear power shortage is due to unforeseen difficulties in construction. All of these are short-term problems, many due to past underinvestment in research and development and plants, that can be solved later.

The costs of mining and extraction of a fuel is divided into two parts: the technology cost and rent.[16] The technology costs are managed by the geologists and engineers in exploration and drilling holes – these costs reflect the bounty of earth and our present state of technology, and cannot be changed except by innovations in technology or by new discoveries. The rent cost includes royalty and bonuses to the land owners, production and severance taxes, Federal income taxes, and windfalls for the lucky wildcatters – this cost is negotiable and represents the bargaining position of various parties and can be changed suddenly. We read that in the Persian Gulf, the technology cost of a barrel of oil is only 10 cents, but the rent cost is $1.60 and going up. Despite the engineers' effort to cut cost every year, the rent costs can go up much faster. To affluent nations such as Japan and the U.S., this cost increase is an unwelcome burden but, to less developed nations such as India, this cost increase is a serious blow.

The Arabs have more than two-thirds of the free world oil; can they obtain indefinite increases in prices? We know that North America contains vast fuel resources in coal, oil shale, and tar sand – many times greater than all the oil in the Middle East. Laboratory and pilot plant runs show that they can be turned into oil and gas. Given enough money and time to do research and development, chemists and engineers will find out how this could be done in great scales economically, and without damage to environment. Present guesses on synthetic crude oil prices are in the range of $4-$6 a barrel from these solid fuels, while small projects such as the Sun Oil process in tar sand in Alberta is almost competitive at present prices.[17] These vast resources can form a price ceiling on oil and other energy sources for many years to come. The public and our government need to learn the facts, debate the issues, and pass rules on their exploitation. We do not yet know how to do the mining-extracting-refining in the

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most economical manner, and without damage to the environment. If engineers are given the job and the resources, they will rise to the occasion.

Table 3. Fuel prices

	Unit cost	Equivalent cost $/million Btu
Electricity	0.8¢/kWh	2.34
Gasoline	12¢/gallon	1.00
No. 6 fuel oil (1% S)	$4/barrel	0.69
Bituminous coal	$10/ton	0.46
No. 6 fuel oil (High S)	$2.50/barrel	0.43
Natural gas	40¢/thousand CF	0.40

East Coast wholesale, without tax

The approximate current wholesale prices of the more important fuels are shown in Table 3.[4] The clean and convenient natural gas seems underpriced in this table. Lower sulfur fuel oils are naturally more expensive than high sulfur fuel oils. Electricity is the cleanest to the consumer, totally available to do useful work, and the most expensive.

Future Energy Uses

The large-scale generation of electricity at remotely located nuclear plants and the burning of coal at the mine mouth would remove much danger and pollution from population centers. (Distance certainly lends enchantment here.) The increased cost of electricity transmission could be decreased by new developments, such as cryogenic cables that are super-conducting. I am afraid that after the engineers have done their jobs well and technology costs are cut, the dominant cost in electricity transmission will turn out to be a rent cost again, paid to land owners to acquire the right of way.

Radiation hazards in nuclear plants can be minimized to any desired level by spending more money. The final radioactive hot wastes are being stored in caves now. Eventually, they will be disposed of by some other means, such as being sent into the sun by rockets. The sun is exceedingly radioactive now — a little bit more won't hurt. It can be our *ultimate garbage dump.*[18]

When it comes to transportation, oil is the dominant fuel. Outside of a few electric trains and bicycles, almost everything else moves by oil on the land, in the sea, or in the air. Its dominance is due to its ease in use as a liquid, as well as high power density and low cost. Nature appears to have arrived at the same solution for transportation fuel much earlier. When nature prepares something for a long journey, such as a walnut for dispersion, a cocoanut for ocean voyage, a salmon traveling upstream to spawn, or a goose migrating to South America, the body carbohydrates are converted into lipid or fat.[19] These fats dif-

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fer from petroleum only by the presence of a little oxygen. In fact, some geochemists believe that petroleum originates in animal fat buried in the rocks for eons, and that the oxygen is removed by catalytic action of bacteria or of clay. Table 4 gives the comparative power density of a number of fuels and batteries.[7] It may be a bit unfair to compare gasoline to a battery in power density, since the battery carries both fuel and oxidizer, but the oxidizer of gasoline is ubiquitous air that is always available except in space and under water.

Table 4. Energy density in storage

	Chemical energy kcal/g	Electric-mechanical energy watt-hr/lb (20% heat efficiency)
Gasoline	11.0	1,150
Lipid	9.3	
Methanol	5.2	550
Ammonia	4.8	510
Carbohydrate	4.1	
Protein	4.1	
Sodium-sulfur battery		385
Conceptual super flywheel		200
Lead acid battery		85
Super fly wheel		40
Rubber band		1

For intercity traffic on land, and for long distance travel in the air or in the seas, it is difficult to see how oil can be replaced. For center city stop-and-go traffic, it would be well to switch to vehicles with stored energy that is less heat generating. The rubber band is an obvious energy storage device, but rather low in capacity. The flywheel was tried in buses in Switzerland and is capable of tremendous improvements. One can conceive of a rotor with an exceedingly high speed of revolution, kept inside a high vacuum to minimize friction, and made of composite material of carbon filaments in epoxy resin to withstand the tremendous centrifugal forces.

There is a great technological innovation on the way that can greatly influence the future pattern of population distribution and transportation needs: the videophone. People live in great metropolitan regions for the ease of contacting many other people and to use common facilities. These great concentrations lead to crowded cities and tremendous transportation problems. With a technically advanced videophone, one can have vivid and direct communications without leaving his home. Managers and white-collar workers, scientists and artists can live anywhere they choose and do all their work at home and by videophone; housewives can shop by videophone; students can talk to their professors by videophone. There is no need for people to get together except when they want to have fun together. People would only travel for pleasure then. This could result in a great dispersion of people back to the countryside.

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Future Supply of Energy

The recoverable resources of energy in the world are quite large. The solid fuels are much greater in quantity than the liquid and gaseous petroleums, based on a study by Hubbert.[20] We know they are available, but we do not yet have the technology or agreed-upon ground rules for their exploitation. Before these tremendous resources can be touched, there must be research and development, environmental regulations, and ownership and profit rules established.

For the nuclear fuels, a dependence on uranium oxide ores of $10/lb would mean a rather limited future in comparison with coal. There may be much more uranium to be discovered. If we are willing to pay more, we can use a great deal of low grade uranium. Future energy supplies will be plentiful but not necessarily cheap.

The truly overwhelming solar energy is the ultimate energy source when all else is gone. This prognostication was recently enunciated by Gaucher,[21] and Glaser[22] has proposed a conceptual scheme for using solar energy. He envisioned synchronous satellites that constantly hover overhead at orbits 22,000 miles away, with solar cells 25 square miles in area. The electricity collected from the sun is beamed to earth at a safe intensity on microwave and collected on giant antennas. This is available night and day, and goes through mist and driving rain with less than 5 per cent absorption loss. This idea is not far from today's technological capabilities.

For a trial balance, let the world energy demand increase by 4 per cent a year, compounded, based on modest population-GNP growth. With fossil fuel alone, we may be in trouble after 2050; adding cheap uranium, we are in trouble after 2070. After 2100, man-made energy release is 1 per cent of natural solar influx and the waste heat disposal problems have to be solved.

Summary

There is no inevitable collision course between high energy use and good environment. The public should be informed that there are *technological alternatives*. We read that after 150 years of fog, when sulfur-containing coal is replaced by clean natural gas, winter sunshine is returning to London.

Scientists and engineers can solve nearly all environmental problems when they are given the task, the resources and the time. Any combustion waste can be cleaned up; radioactive wastes can be sent into the sun; phosphates can be removed by tertiary sewage

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treatments; hot fishes near power plants can be saved by dry air cooling towers; solid wastes can be reduced to ashes, and the remains recovered and recycled. Many of these solutions are within today's technological capabilities. We are only holding back to see which is the best solution, and who should pay, before vast investment programs begin. Even the waste heat disposal problem for earth may eventually succumb to the ingenuities of our scientists and engineers, just as the spectre of world famine forecast by William Crooks was dispelled by Haber and Bosch.

All of this may not be cheap, and the cost of using energy may have to go up. But let us tell everyone that a clean and adequate energy supply can be managed if we give chemists and chemical engineers a chance. But we must plan ahead.

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The Natural History of Governmental Intervention

MARY PETERSON persuasively illustrates for seven selected agencies what might be called the natural history of governmental intervention into economic affairs: A real or fancied evil leads to demands to "do something about it"; a political coalition forms consisting of sincere high-minded reformers and equally sincere interested parties; the incompatible objectives of the members of the coalition (e.g., low prices to consumers and high prices to producers) are glossed over by fine rhetoric about "the public interest," "fair competition," and the like; the coalition succeeds in getting Congress (or a state legislature) to pass a law; the preamble to the law entombs the rhetoric and the body of the law grants power to governmental officials to "do something"; the high-minded reformers experience a glow of triumph and turn their attention to new causes; the interested parties go to work to make sure that the power is used for their benefit and generally succeed; success breeds its problems, requiring the scope of intervention to broaden; bureaucracy takes its toll so that even the initial special interests no longer benefit; ultimately, the effects are precisely the opposite of the noble objectives of the high-minded reformers without achieving the more mundane objectives of the special interests; yet the activity is so firmly established and so many vested interests are connected with it that repeal of the initial legislation is nearly inconceivable; instead, new governmental legislation is called for to cope with the problems produced by the old; and a new cycle begins.

From Milton Friedman's Introduction to *The Regulated Consumer* by Mary Bennett Peterson (Los Angeles: Nash Publishing, 1971).

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ABORTION:

a Metaphysical Approach

THOMAS L. JOHNSON

THE ISSUE of abortion has occupied the minds of humans for as long as civilized society has existed. There have been times when abortion was legally condoned and socially accepted, and other periods of mankind's history when this practice was outlawed and considered to be a criminal act. Today, at a point in time when the rights of individuals are being attacked, ignored or destroyed, we are again witnessing a resurgence of the debate on abortion, and within the past few years, the passage of laws which remove most or all restrictions which have, in the previous history of this nation, protected the individual rights of the most vulnerable, defenseless and innocent of human beings: the unborn child.

The abortion controversy is not just another dispute causing people to occupy opposing intellectual and legal camps. It is not a subject that can be equated in importance with other national concerns. Abortion is an issue which must be recognized as one of the most, if not *the* most important argument of our times, for it deals with an attack on the fundamental right of all humans: the right to life. When this right, upon which all other rights depend, can be set

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aside; when, at the whim of an adult, a new human life can be destroyed simply because another human does not wish to allow this life to continue; when it is decided that one stage of human life is of no real value – that its existence is an inconvenience to others and can thus be terminated – mankind loses its most precious value. Once the absolute value of each individual to his own life vanishes, existence no longer remains as a right, but becomes a privilege to be granted or denied by those in authoritative positions, by majority vote, or by the caprice of an unreasoning mother.

The Nature of Existence

There is but one approach that can be taken in dealing with the subject of abortion – the metaphysical approach. Metaphysics is a branch of philosophy which involves the attempt to understand the nature of existence, to explain and scientifically analyze natural phenomena, both in the animate and inanimate realms. Since abortion is dealing with the destruction of the human embryo or fetus, it is necessary to examine the biological nature of these entities and apply this information to another division of philosophy – Ethics –in the attempt to determine the correct behavior of men toward these intrauterine stages.

Among those who advocate abortion, who state that a woman should be able to terminate a pregnancy simply because she desires to do so, there are two significant groups. One group states that the entity within the uterine cavity is not a living human being, that the embryo or fetus is simply a cluster of multiplying cells that could be considered as a part of the mother's body. The other group considers the embryo or fetus to be human, but argues that there is a conflict between the rights of the mother and those of the unborn child. That the mother must have full control over her body, and that if she is denied this right she will fall victim to the rights of the unborn.

The Essentials of Reproduction Among Vertebrates

What is the actual nature of the intrauterine stages and does a real conflict exist between the mother and the unborn? In order to answer these questions it will be necessary to briefly analyze the known essentials of reproduction, particularly those factors which apply to vertebrates, of which the human is the most advanced form, and correlate this knowledge with the issue of the rights of the embryo or fetus, and the mother.

Sexual reproduction – reproduction accomplished by means of the

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production of sperms and eggs, and their subsequent fusion – is characteristic of most forms of life, and is the only method of reproduction possessed by numerous animal groups (for example, all vertebrates). Once a mature animal produces the sex cells, they are released from the organs in which they formed (the testis or ovary) and usually pass into ducts leading to the outside of the organism. Either the sperms and eggs are released into water, at which time fertilization occurs immediately, or sperm cells are introduced into the female tract and fertilization will eventually take place within the body of the female. The essential point is, that at the time of fusion of sex cells, a new generation of a species is produced.

Within each cell of an animal there are *two* sets of chromosomes (filaments containing genes). When the sex cells are formed, each sperm or egg contains only *one* set of chromosomes, but when a sperm fuses with an egg the full complement of chromosomal pairs is re-established. It is at this point, at the time of the formation of the zygote (the cell formed by the fusion of the sperm and egg) that a new organism comes into existence.

In human reproduction, the sperm fertilizes the egg in the upper portion of the oviduct. A new human life thus begins its existence in the cavity of the oviduct, and since it takes several days for the new organism to reach the uterus, it is already an embryo by the time it enters that organ.

The Point of Separation

One frequently hears the argument that the zygote, embryo or fetus is a part of the mother's body over which she must have control. Without question, this is *not* the case. Once sperms and eggs are discharged from the sex organs, they are no longer a part of the organism which produced them. These highly specialized cells, which have been produced by a special form of cell division (meiosis – other body cells are formed by the process of mitosis), are of no value to the organism which formed them (as regards the maintenance of its own life) – thus they either degenerate or they are released from the sex organs and pass into a tube on their way out of the body. Ultimately a small fraction of these *discarded* sex cells will fuse. Under no circumstances could one consider mature released sex cells, or any subsequent organism resulting from the fusion of these cells, as a part of the individual which generated them.

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(Although the human embryo attaches itself to the wall of the uterus in order to gain needed substances from the mother for its growth and development, it does not fuse with this organ but remains as a distinct new life existing within the cavity of the mother's reproductive tract.)

Human life therefore has its beginning *(is viable)* at a point in time when the necessary genetic information, half coming from the father and the other half from the mother, is brought together by the fusion of the released sperm and egg to form the single-celled zygote. This individual organism cannot be a part of the mother (it has an entirely different set of chromosomes), but is a separate and unique human life.

All Vertebrate Life Begins in an Aquatic Environment

There is another important, but generally overlooked, aspect of the development of vertebrates which is germane to the discussion of abortion and which would shed light on the nature of the intrauterine embryo or fetus. It is a well known biological fact that all vertebrate life must begin in an aquatic environment. Fishes and amphibians generally release the sex cells into a body of water and the zygotes and embryos develop there. In the land vertebrates, which do not deposit their eggs into water, a sac forms around the embryo which fills with fluid. Consequently, each vertebrate, including the human, must spend the first developmental phase of its life in a water medium, and it is only after the new organism has achieved the necessary physical development (not accomplished by fishes and some amphibians), that it is able to continue its life in a gaseous environment.

(Even if humans should achieve the technological ability to raise what science fiction writers have called "bottle babies," these "bottles" would be filled with fluid. It is only because the human organism begins its life, not in a glass container in which one could observe the rapidly changing new life, but in a dark cavity out of sight, that older humans find it possible to pretend that these younger humans are not living or are not human. If the growth of the unborn child were to be observed by the mother, the issue of abortion would most likely never have become a matter of world-wide concern, for what psychologically healthy mother, seeing the unborn child within herself, would choose to destroy it.)

Metaphysically, by its nature, every new human life *must* spend the first months of its existence in an aquatic environment, within

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the amniotic sac, if it is ever to experience a later stage of human existence. No human life has ever bypassed this requirement, or ever will – at least not for many millions of years, if then, considering the present rate of evolution. Every new human life must also have first been a zygote, then an embryo and finally a fetus before it is prepared to live outside the fluid medium. To contend that human life is only human at the time of birth, that the intrauterine entity is not an actual, but only a potential human being, is untenable.

If Not a Human Being, Then What Is It?

For those who insist that human life begins only at birth, the question that must be asked is: What is this entity developing within the uterus if not an actual human being? Is it possible that by some magic, at the time of birth, that this alleged potential being is somehow, within a matter of minutes, transformed into an actual human being? To rational individuals, in possession of scientific facts, the answer is incontrovertible. Both the unborn child and the new born child is an actual human being, and at the time of birth, the child is merely moving from one required environment (aquatic) to a new required environment (gaseous) so that it can continue to develop into the succeeding stages of its life until it eventually ends its existence at the time of death.

The biological facts relating to the reproductive process and the first stages of human life have been established. It is now necessary to relate this knowledge to the issue of rights.

Those that contend that the intrauterine being is not human have no problem in their attempt to settle a controversy over rights, for if this living "thing" is not human, it can possess no rights. Since it is a well substantiated fact that the zygote, embryo or fetus is a human being, their argument becomes meaningless and requires no further discussion.

Those who contend that a human life is existing within the mother during the period of pregnancy do ascribe rights to this new human life, but it is argued that the rights of the mother take precedence over those of the unborn child and thus she has, or should have, the legal and moral right to terminate the life of this new individual at any, or certain limited, stages of its existence. This latter position requires a succinct examination.

A woman must have full control over her *own* body at all times. She must be free to take any ac-

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tion which is deemed necessary to sustain *her* life. For instance, if it can be medically determined that carrying her unborn child to term would probably result in her death, she cannot be expected or required to sacrifice her adult independent life for the life of an immature, dependent offspring. (Actually, in many such cases, both the mother and the fetus could die, resulting in the loss of two lives, instead of just one.) Since medical science has advanced to a point at which such life and death situations rarely occur, the argument in favor of abortion in order to preserve the life of the mother has only limited application. Although this is the case, the legal code should specifically grant abortion if the mother's life is seriously jeopardized, which it has done throughout the history of this nation.

Mitigating Circumstances

Are there other circumstances that might arise which would, or could, legally and morally permit an expectant mother to undergo an abortion? The answer is yes – in cases of legally proven (which is sometimes difficult), unwillfully engaged in acts of rape or incest. *When an individual does not commit an act of his own free will, he (or she) cannot be held responsible for the consequences of this act.* Although this is true, it does not alter the fact that a new life is existing and that it will be destroyed if aborted. The most humane response to such a circumstance would be to encourage the expectant mother to carry the child to term, but no one could require this of the victim.

There are some who insist that abortion should be allowed for other medical reasons – in the case of diseased or malformed fetuses. But what individual physician, or board of physicians, or legislative body has the ability to determine what diseased condition or what deformity could warrant killing the unborn (or the born)? No such judgment is possible, either for the intrauterine or extrauterine human.

"Handbook on Abortion"

Dr. and Mrs. J. C. Willke, in their recently released book, *Handbook On Abortion,* emphasize this point when they write: "This price tag of comfort or utilitarian usefulness, called euthanasia when applied to incurably ill post-born humans, applies equally well to the pre-born human who is also judged to be so deformed or mentally deficient that he too should not be permitted to live. This criterion and value judgment which permits humans to continue to live only because they are useful

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and independent is an utterly barbaric concept. Once life has a price tag on it and is no longer an absolute right, then all life is endangered, all life is only worth the current price tag placed upon it by society, the state, the master race, or those in positions of power."[1]

Having full control over her *own* body (having *self*-determination) is an absolute right of each woman, but having full control over another's body, over the body of a new life developing within her reproductive system is not, and never could be her prerogative. A woman must have the right to *prevent* conception – to determine herself if she wishes to have, or not have, a child – to obtain contraceptive information and materials – but she must also bear the responsibility for sustaining the life of a newly formed human if she willfully engages in intercourse which results in pregnancy.

(It should be noted that certain contraceptives do not prevent conception, but preclude the implantation of the embryo in the wall of the uterus. The use of such contraceptives should be condemned, for they bring about the destruction of very young lives rather than prevent their coming into existence.)

A Collectivist View: The Individual Is Expendable

Consider the political philosophy, and the attitude toward individual rights, of those groups which are the most outspoken supporters of abortion – those concerned with environmental pollution, the population explosion and the "liberation" of women. Each of these groups espouses a collectivist view of life and considers the individual human to be expendable or enslavable as the means of achieving their ends. They are outspoken lobbyists backing legislation granting the agency of force, the government, the authority to establish a myriad of programs which they consider necessary to achieve their aims, and they completely ignore the fact that it is other human lives that will be sacrificed in this attempt to carry out their master plan for society. The sacrifice of the unborn is just one other aspect of their social engineering which is completely compatible with their view of man – the view that the individual is nothing; the collective is all.

There is no conflict of rights between the expectant mother and

[1] *Handbook On Abortion* is a well reasoned and scientifically accurate work covering all of the primary and secondary issues concerning abortion. It is available in paperback for $.95, plus postage, from Hiltz Publishing Co., 6304 Hamilton Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45224.

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the unborn child. Both she and the new life within her have the right to life, a right which must be possessed by *all* humans at *all* stages of their life. And since it is the function of government to protect the rights of all humans, from the beginning of life to its end, it is right for the government to proscribe the killing of the unborn by means of abortion – except to save the life of the mother or in instances where a woman's self-determination was obliterated, as in the case of forced rape or incest.

In her brilliant essay, "Man's Rights," Ayn Rand states: "There are no 'rights' of special groups, there are no 'rights of farmers, of workers, of businessmen, of employees, of employers, of the old, of the young, of the unborn.' There are only *the Rights of Man*–rights possessed by every individual man and by all men as individuals." The unborn child is a new individual having the same rights as all other individuals, and, as with all humans, regardless of their age or station in life, possesses the most basic of all rights, the right without which all other rights would cease to exist, the right to life.

When A New Life Begins

There is perhaps no phenomenon in the field of biology that touches so many fundamental questions as the union of the germ cells in the act of fertilization; in this supreme event all the strands of the webs of two lives are gathered in one knot, from which they diverge again and are rewoven in a new individual life-history. . . . The elements that unite are single cells, each on the point of death; but by their union a rejuvenated individual is formed, which constitutes a link in the eternal procession of life.

F. R. LILLIE, *Problems of Fertilization*

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To Free or Freeze

SEVERAL YEARS BACK I used to encounter people who spoke of "Leonard Read's freedom philosophy." Now I run into those who simply say "the freedom philosophy." Leonard Read must be doing something right to find his recipes becoming the common property of cooks and diners who no longer think of crediting the pioneering chef.

Mr. Read, of course, would deny that he is an originator. In his new book, *To Free or Freeze: That is the Question* (Foundation for Economic Education, $3 cloth, $2 paper), he remarks that "practically every idea we espouse and pass off as our own is *unknowingly* taken from others." Even so, I find Mr. Read an original in the way he combines his ideas and his methods.

Where else in the country will you find a man who really believes that the way to reform others is to reform yourself in hopes that the example will lead to self-discovery along similar lines in whoever cares to listen? Max Eastman, the crusader who became more contemplative in later life, used to refer to Mr. Read's Foundation for Economic Education as "the monastery," which I am sure Mr. Read would take as a compliment. After all, it was the monastery that kept the lamps of learning burning through the Dark Ages. "FEE," says Mr. Read in his essay, "Speak for Yourself, John," "is not an institutional spokesman nor an organization trying to 'reach' anyone. Rather, ours is, one might say, no more than an agency offering such services as you may think of

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value in your own search and personal growth. . . . Instead of playing the utterly futile game of trying to 'reach' others, we can concentrate on getting enough into our own mentalities and improving our services to the point where others will reach for us."

Emphasis on the Individual

In keeping with his pilgrim's accent on first principles, Mr. Read dispenses with the "scientific" jargon which tries to make political economy over into a predictive natural science like Newtonian physics. To Mr. Read, everything goes back to the individual (no two people are alike!) whose free will and unforeseeable subjective valuations put an aberrant factor into every economic equation. It is obvious that economics does not become a *statistical* subject until after the fact of choice. The whole question of choice leads from considerations of GNP and chatter about "parameters," whatever they are, to moral philosophy, with its concern for right and wrong. Mr. Read wants to think about good and evil, not about the technical questions that lead to so much manipulation of individuals as though they were pawns in some dictator's game of chess.

The good, to Mr. Read, is anything that adds to the sum of creativity. Force must sometimes be used to keep one man from injuring another, but this does not alter the truth that what Mr. Read calls "viewpoints, evaluations, inventions, insights, intuitive flashes, think-of-that's" do not thrive in a world of controls and government seizures. When force, going beyond the police power, is used to transfer wealth, it hurts the sum total of creativity by enfeebling the injured person and encouraging laziness in the supposed beneficiary. Contemplation of the nature of force leads Mr. Read back to the State-as-night-watchman and away from the modern heresy of the State-as-quarterback. The State's proper business is protection against such things as fraud, the spread of disease, and attack from abroad.

Actions Have Consequences

Mr. Read does not believe in crystal balls. But he does believe in "ifs." For example, if we persist in our present course of price and wage fixing, or "incomes policy," the "if" will lead to more scarcities. Scarcities under conditions of continuing price control, will lead to rationing, to be followed in turn by black markets. The fabric of law will suffer, and the accompanying growth of cynicism will make for increased violence. To control the violence, the government will have to use

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strong-arm means. And, to administer the strong-arm medicine, a tough guy will have to take over. As Hayek said long ago, the goons, in a world of controls, rise to the top.

Now, Mr. Read is not saying that the U.S. is bound to persist in its present foolish course; the politicians may come to their senses when they discover that inflation (a matter of the money-and-credit supply) cannot be stopped by price and wage boards issuing their ukases. All Mr. Read is uttering is a little "if." The future is not to be glimpsed in any crystal ball for the simple reason that it depends on what is being done by "our actions now." Change in these actions naturally changes the "if."

A Vicious Circle of Subsidies

The other day I listened to a plausible plea for State subsidy to the arts. Taken on its own terms, the argument seemed to me at least morally irrefutable. We have had inflation, which means that people have been robbed of the purchasing power they might have spent on going to plays, or on buying books or visiting museums. As a matter of retributive justice, why shouldn't the State return some of the stolen purchasing power to the art-loving individual? I put this question to Mr. Read. "The trouble," he said, "is that the money is no longer there. There's nothing to be returned."

Of course, there is money there for the arts – and for a million other things – on a short-term basis, provided we are willing to let our children pay the bills. Meanwhile, the quarrel between hundreds of separate pressure groups, each intent on retributive justice, puts an intolerable strain on government, which cannot hope to conjure up the necessary "just" payments out of a top-heavy tax structure and more inflation. What Mr. Read was really saying is that "pretty soon the resources won't be there." This is something that our politicians, along with the people who prod them, have not yet faced.

The Victims of "Help"

Mr. Read, "bonded to conscience," wonders how we are to reverse the drift that is taking our society to "all-out" statism. As a first order of business he insists that those who would stop the downward plunge must "develop the quality of personal incorruptibility." Politically speaking, the "incorruptible" man should "never give approval to a law that 'helps' anyone."

This is hard doctrine for the modern age, which believes in so-

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called "positive" action by the State. But Mr. Read says that "pity, unless spiced with common sense, is what's heartless." Providing people with "governmental feeding stations" kindles the vice of avarice. Beyond that, it tends to render people helpless by atrophying their faculties. "Helping people to become helpless," says Mr. Read, "is no act of kindness."

If you look at what is taking place in the political and social arenas, it might seem that Mr. Read and his "saving remnant" are hopelessly out of fashion. Nevertheless, "the freedom philosophy" has many more adherents than it had in the Nineteen Forties, when I first heard Mr. Read talk about tapping the emergent energy of the individual. At long last the intellectual currents are not all going the same way, which gives us ground for hope that we'll be free before we freeze.

▶ WHAT, HOW, FOR WHOM: *The Decisions of Economic Organization* by Henry N. Sanborn (Box 8466, Baltimore, Md.: Cotter-Barnard, 1972, 356 pp., $5.20)

Reviewed by Gary North

FIVE YEARS AGO, supporters of the free market who wanted a textbook for an introductory course at the college level in economics had Allen and Alchian's *University Economics* as the one reasonable selection. Now we have Thomas Sowell's *Economics*, a reprint of Rothbard's *Man, Economy and State*, and Prof. Sanborn's new book. Things are looking up.

Sanborn teaches at Towson State College in Baltimore. His perspective is Chicago oriented, i.e., he follows Milton Friedman on monetary theory, George Stigler on antitrust laws, and positivists in general on methodology. He refers constantly to the MV = PT monetary equation, and from this he concludes that a steady increase of the money supply by the government will eliminate serious depressions. A teacher would be wise to assign Rothbard's *What Has Government Done to Our Money?* along with Sanborn's book.

Generally he favors the market as a means of both human freedom and efficiency. He also avoids the use of the "indifference curve" approach which has done so much to confuse a generation of students. He writes in a folksy, nonpretentious style, which is probably the best reason for the book's superiority. His footnotes are not burdened with citations from obscure professional journals, but are graphic and illustrative, using such sources as the *Wall Street Journal, New York Times, Newsweek, Barron's*. The inclusion of

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cartoons also makes it lively; their impact may remain when the memory of marginal cost curves has long faded.

This would be an ideal book for a one semester course, especially for nonmajors. It should also be a source of classroom controversy. For example, on page 299, he simultaneously praises military conscription laws and calls for the abolition of laws against prostitution and narcotics. His basically pragmatic approach mars the final chapter especially, where he calls for various kinds of government intervention to eliminate minor defects of the market system ("neighborhood effects," natural monopoly), but on the whole these deviations are few. The first half of the book is exceptionally good. The one major flaw is his explanation of profits: he accepts the entrepreneurial theory of Frank H. Knight (and Mises), only to abandon it in later pages for a "return on company inputs" theory which is distressingly vague, for good reason. If this is cleared up in later editions, it will be a very good introductory textbook.

▸ IMPUTED RIGHTS by Robert V. Andelson (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1971, 153 pp. $6.00)

Reviewed by Edmund A. Opitz

IN VIEW of the central importance of the idea of rights to the philosophy of liberty it is astonishing that books dealing with the subject are so few. Professor Andelson's formidable little volume stands virtually alone; interest in the idea, either for its own sake or for its significance in our history, has inspired few researchers and writers. There are other puzzling questions. The doctrine of individual rights is an idea of the first magnitude, to be ranked alongside the idea of gravity or the theory of relativity. Why, if the idea is so important, did it take Western civilization more than two thousand years to grasp it? Why has no other civilization even come close? Why, having once embraced the idea of rights, did we abandon it in a fraction of the time it took the West to gain it? And after having largely let go of the substance, why do we so pathetically cherish the label of "rights" that we now paste on patents of privilege granted by the state!

Things were different in the eighteenth century. Men of that era echoed Locke when they talked about the right to life, liberty, and

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property. What began with Locke as a philosophical speculation worked its way into men's bones and became something they could almost taste. Conditions in the American colonies gave each man unaccustomed liberty to live his life and be responsible for the property he produced. And there were, in addition, religious convictions about a protected, private domain in each individual whose invasion would violate the sacred prerogatives of the person. Monarchy broke itself against these convictions, which in turn were strong enough to generate the ideal of a government instituted solely to secure these rights. It is to the idea of rights in this tradition that Dr. Andelson addresses himself, and in a closely reasoned, gracefully written book, he vindicates this idea in a masterful way.

Briefly surveying the history of his subject, the author finds three distinct theories of human rights, as analyzed in terms of ground, end, and regulating principle. He finds strong reasons for rejecting the radical-humanist and utilitarian arguments for rights and places himself in the metaphysical tradition which "derives rights from man's place in a purposive order." The book's frame of reference is theological; it is an examination of "the nature of man in the light of the distinctive end for which he was created." A society which maximizes personal liberty for all and jealously guards individual rights provides the context in which men and women may best fulfill their earthly purposes and achieve their transcendent goals. The first half of the book lays the theoretical groundwork for what the author terms "a rationalized social structure deduced from Christian premises," and it is a pleasure to watch a carefully articulated argument unfold. The author's orientation is broadly Calvinistic, and he views man as "fallen." That is to say, man's nature is out of joint; so an empirical examination of human nature as it is does not disclose any such thing as "rights" organic to man as such. But human nature is more than natural, which is to say that rights are imputed to man by his Maker. Even those who do not accept the author's theology will find this a meaty discussion.

So much for the theoretical groundwork; now for the practical application. Professor Andelson proves to be tough-minded and cogent as he tests his philosophy of personal rights against a number of vexed issues. Guided by "the evidence of social data and the rules of logical consistency," the author proceeds to spell out in some detail that "structure of mutual noninterference which pro-

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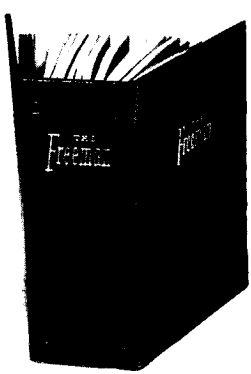
vides the only rational criterion for adjudicating competing claims to personal fulfillment." There is no room in Professor Andelson's philosophy for government welfare programs: ". . . the alleviation of misery is not, as such, a right, and ought not, as such, be coercively enforced. For the use of coercion, other than to guarantee rights, is an infringement upon rights . . ." Beyond this, he would not countenance any effort to legislate morals; conduct which merely offends sensibilities and is not clearly predatory is no concern of the law. The author champions the right of private association (and dissociation) and thus comes into conflict with aspects of current civil rights legislation. The law should enforce contracts and protect rightful property. The laborer is not a commodity, the author affirms, but "his labor is the commodity par excellence" — a position at variance with monopoly unionism. And as for the United Nations, its absurd Declaration of Human Rights "is proof of its untrustworthiness to wield supreme authority."

This brief resume of some of the issues may convey the notion that Dr. Andelson is forthright to the point of abrasiveness. Correct! The reviewer dissents vigorously from several of the opinions expressed but applauds the candor which makes this a cleansing book and an important one.



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